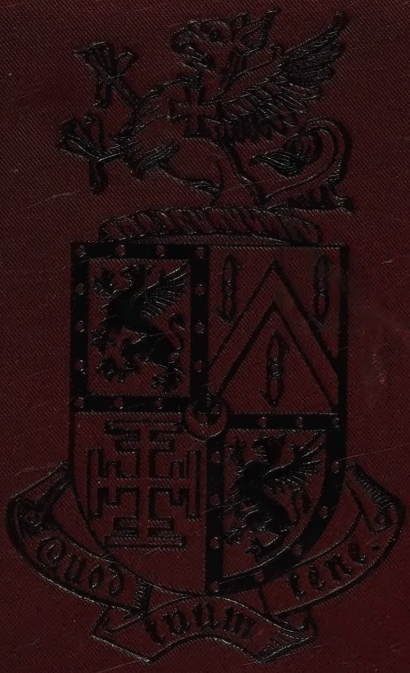

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Vol. 33. The Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, with Extracts from the Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses. Edited by HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. *pp.* xxxii. 261. *(Three plates.)*

THE REV. THOMAS JOLLY.

(From an old Print.)

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THE

Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly

A.D. 1671–1693.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

Church Book of Altham and Wymondhouses,

A.D. 1649–1725.

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

Jolly Family of Standish, Gorton, and Altham.

EDITED BY

HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A.,

Author of "The History of Kirkham," "The History of Rochdale," "The Lancashire Library," &c., &c.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

1894.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAIT OF THE REV. THOMAS JOLLY - - *Frontispiece*

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PREFACE.

THE CHETHAM SOCIETY has already published the Diaries of Adam Martindale and Henry Newcome, and to these the following pages will form an interesting addition, illustrating as they do a period of our local history concerning which materials are by no means plentiful.

In September, 1892, in a London bookseller's catalogue appeared a manuscript described as "a Diary apparently relating to church work at Walmsley." This was purchased for a few shillings by Mr. George Neilson (Procurator-Fiscal, Glasgow, F.S.A. Scot.), who finding on careful examination that it was undoubtedly written by Thomas Jolly (although his name does not once appear in it), sent a short account of it to the *Athenæum*. On reading Mr. Neilson's communication I at once wrote to him, the result of which was that he kindly offered to

lend me the *MS.* with a view to its being published by the Chetham Society.

The *MS.* consists of 172 pages closely written in a good, clear, handwriting; it is bound in leather, and in fairly good condition. On the fly leaf is "2 v."—the first volume is missing.

It is not, strictly speaking, a Diary, but an abstract or Note Book, made up from time to time from its writer's rough Diary—this is proved beyond a doubt by the following entry made in October, 1691—"These two weeks I had some more leisure to review my diary and to bring this transcript hitherto." Probably after this periodical revision the original diary would be destroyed.

My first idea was to have the whole note book printed *verbatim et literatim*, but on a more careful perusal I became satisfied that many portions might with advantage to the reader be omitted. From the beginning to the first month of 1672, it is, however, printed *in extenso*, thus showing the kind of matter which has been omitted or abbreviated. All the names of persons and places have been retained, and nothing has been abbreviated or omitted which is of personal, local, or general interest.

For the illustrations of this volume I am indebted to the Rev. B. Nightingale of Preston, and I must also

acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Mr. W. A. Abram and Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A. The Index has been compiled by my daughter Miss Jane Fishwick.

H. F.

The Heights,
Rochdale,
Nov., 1894.

INTRODUCTION.

The Jolly Family of Standish, Gorton, and Altham.

A FAMILY of the name of Jolly, Jolley, or Jollie, was settled in Lancashire certainly in the sixteenth century, but probably at a much earlier date. They were then living in the parish of Standish. In the time of Edward VI. [1547-53], James Standish and Seth Jolly were defendants in the Duchy Court touching the alleged tortious possession of a messuage and lands called Bradley, situate in Standish. This Seth Jolly[1] was buried at Standish 18th December, 1560. He was probably the father of John, Robert, Alexander, and others, but the positive proof is wanting. One of these three was the father of James Jolly, who died in 1588; his widow was buried at Standish 24th November, 1599. Her goods were valued at £18 16*s.* 6*d.*, and amongst her debtors were Edward Jollie, £8; Laurence Jollie, £3. Letters of administration were granted at Chester, 12th February, 1599–1600, to her son Thomas.

[1] A branch of the family was living in Poulton-le-Fylde, where a Seth Jolly appears in 1741.

Thomas Jolly, probably the younger brother of James, died in October, 1630; his will was proved at Chester. He directs that his body shall be buried within the church of Standish; he left a widow (Grace) and children, whose names are not given. The will was witnessed by Robert and Laurence Jolly, and amongst those who owed him money was a Rauf Jolly.[1] His inventory, including farming stock and household goods, amounted to £101 17*s.* 10*d.*

James Jolly had issue three sons and one daughter, viz :—

(I.) Thomas Jolly, who lived at Bickershaw in Abram, in the parish of Wigan; he married Jane, the daughter of John Aldred of Leigh;[2] he died in 1630, and letters of administration were granted at Chester to his two sons James and John. His farming stock and household goods were valued at £60 11*s.* 7*d.* He appears to have been a substantial farmer, but not a land owner. His widow survived him ten years; her will was dated 10th April, 1640, to which she affixed her mark. She desired to be buried at Leigh, but there is no record of her burial either at Wigan, Standish, or Leigh. To her children she made the following bequests: to James Jolly, one pied cow; to Mary Hampson, the use of all her kine till May Day; to Ann Yeat, 40*s.*; to Mary Hampson, 40*s.*;

[1] Rauf Jolly and Elizabeth Prescot were married at Standish 24th October, 1573, and in 1628 the wife of Rauf Jolly appears as a recusant.

[2] The marriage is not recorded either at Leigh or Wigan.

to her grandchildren (the children of Robert Aldred), £5; to Katherine Yeat, one red cow; to Henry Hampson, one old cow and a pied stirk. Her executors were Richard Greave of Hindley, yeoman, and her son-in-law, William Hampson. The effects were valued at £46 8*s.* Thomas and Jane had issue, of whom presently.

(II.) Edward Jolly, lived at Blackrod; he had issue two sons James and John, and a daughter Johanna.

(III.) Laurence Jolly; he married one of the daughters of Miles Gerrard of Ince, and had two sons slain at the battle of Marston Moor.

(IV.) A daughter, baptized at Standish 25th June, 1563, probably died young.

Thomas Jolly, the son of James, had issue:—

(I.) James, of whom hereafter.

(II.) John, christened at Leigh 1st November, 1601; he married; was living in 1640.

(III.) Ellen, married Robert Aldred, who was probably her cousin.

(IV.) Ann, married Thomas Yate, or Yeat, of West Leigh; they had a daughter Katherine; living in 1640.

(V.) Mary, married William Hampson of Henley; they had a son Henry; living in 1640.

James Jolly, the eldest son of Thomas Jolly of Bickenshaw in Abram, in the parish of Wigan, was born in the year 1600. When quite a young man he went to live at Gorton, where he was engaged in the then very profitable business of a clothier. Here he met with Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of John Low of Denton, and widow

of John Hall of Clock House, a small farm near Droylsden, and to whom he was married at the Manchester Collegiate Church 21st February, 1625-6.[1]

In 1635 he occupied a tenement (probably for business purposes) in Milner's Lane, Manchester, as he was presented at the Court Leet at Easter in that year for "laying a dunghill" there.[2]

On the breaking out of the Civil War he became a soldier, and attached himself to the Parliamentary Army, in which he soon rose to distinction, his promotion being rapid, and honours following each other fast. By commission, 21st January, 1642 (from the Lord Lieutenant), by the order of Sir John Seton, knt., he was made Provost Marshal-General of the Parliamentary Forces in Lancashire; on 27th January, 1643, he was made Quarter-Master-General of the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax, knt.; and on 3rd February, 1647, he received his commission as Provost Marshal to the garrison of Chester, and of the regiment of foot under Colonel Dukinfield of Dukinfield, and he was also (on the 15th August, 1647) commissioned as Captain of a Company of Foot raised against the rebels in Ireland.

On the formation of the first Manchester Classis on 2nd October, 1646, he was elected as a lay representative for Gorton, but as he held strong independent religious views he did not act.[3]

[1] Her daughter, Elizabeth Hall, married Adam Martindale 31st December, 1646.

[2] *Court Leet Records.*

[3] Harl. *MSS.*, 2161, fol. 199.

In 1652 he is referred to as Major Jolly, *alias* James Jolly, of Manchester.[1] It is not to be wondered at that with all these dignities thrust upon him, the retired clothier should aspire to a coat of arms, and having explained to the Norroy King of Arms that he was descended from the Jollys of Staffordshire, only he could not prove it, he was allowed to bear the arms anciently borne by that family, with a slight difference, viz:—Argent, a bloody sword in pale gules, betwixt two keys erected azure, and upon a chief vert three right hands couped of the first, ensigned with a helmet mantled gules, dubbed argent, above the same, on a torse, a wreath of the colours, an armed arm pro., holding a truncheon or baton.[2] The grant is dated 3rd October, 1648. He also entered a pedigree of four generations, but like many similiar productions it is a mere outline, the only date given being that James Jolly (the Provost Marshal) was aged forty-eight in 1648.[3]

After the Restoration James Jolly lived at Chester, but his zeal had not diminished, for on the 3rd July, 1665, "a conventicle" consisting of a hundred persons was discovered assembled at Chester in the house of Dr. Thomas Harrison, late chaplain to Harry Cornwall. The house was broken open, many of the people escaped, but thirty or forty were found hidden in closets and under the beds; these were arrested and brought before the mayor—one of them was Major Jolly. They were all

[1] Harl. *MSS.*, 2042, fol. 309. [2] *Ib.*, 2161, fol. 199.
[3] *Ib.*, 2161, fol. 200.

fined, and most of them paid the money to escape imprisonment. On the 4th September following security was taken for the peaceable demeanour of Major Jolly and others at Chester.[1] These prisoners were described as not "anabaptists, but the first and worst stamp of sectaries." Major Jolly died 7th November, 1666, and was buried at St. Michael's Church, Chester. He left a will which was neither dated nor witnessed, in which he is described as of "the city and county of Chester, gentleman." He states that having before made provision and bestowed portions upon his four sons James, Thomas, John, and Nathan, he leaves them only five shillings each, and a like sum to his three grandsons, children of his son Thomas; to his son Thomas he bequeaths his silver seal; to his man-servant and maid-servant, *2s. 6d.* each; all the rest of his goods (after debts and funeral expenses are paid) he gives to his "beloved wife Elizabeth Jollie and his only daughter Mary Jollie equally between them," to whom letters of administration were granted 20th April, 1667.

James and Elizabeth Jolly had issue :—

(I.) James Jolly, christened at Gorton Chapel in 1627, and baptized at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on 17th June, 1629. Nothing is known of him except that he went to Cambridge,[2] and if it is correct (as frequently stated) that Thomas Jollie had two brothers in the ministry, he must have been one of them. He was

[1] Cal. *State Papers*, Dom. Ser., cxxvi. 13, and cxxxii. 24.

[2] Harl. *MSS.*, 2161, p. 200.

living at the time of his father's death in 1667, but died before October, 1684. (See Note Book.)

(II.) Thomas, of whom hereafter.

(III.) John Jolly was a student at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1656 he was living in that city, and according to the testimony of his brother he was "labouring for learning grace and experience to fit him for the ministry." (See Church Book.)

After he left Ireland he appears to have lived somewhere not far from Bredbury in Cheshire, as the Rev. Samuel Eaton, minister of that place, by his will dated 12th December, 1664, left him 20*s*., and describes him as living "in these parts."[1]

He has been said to have been ejected from Norbury Chapel (which is not far distant from Bredbury) in 1662, but this is not the case. The incident which gave rise to this took place on Sunday, 12th January, 1672-3,[2] and is related by Calamy,[3] who says :—

"Going to preach one Lord's Day morning in the chappell at Norbury after the Act of Uniformity had taken place, he [Mr. Jollie] found the doors lock'd upon him. The people being unwilling to lose the opportunity, by some means or other open'd the doors, and he preach'd as usuall. This was a thing that made a mighty noise at that time, for some neighbouring gentlemen were so officious as to acquaint the King and Council, aggravating the business as if the doors had been broken.

[1] Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 34.

[2] *MS.* Poynton Paper, *East Cheshire*, vol. ii. p. 103.

[3] Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's *History of Our Times*, 1713, vol. ii. p. 124.

Whereupon a Pursuivant was sent down who brought up Mr. Jollie. Being before the King and Council the question was whether Norbury chapel was a consecrated place. It is to be noted that it was an inconsiderable building in a field near Norbury hall. Mr. Jollie deny'd that it was a consecrated place, and Sir Peter Leicester's *Historical Antiquities* were brought before the King and Council to decide the question. The Earl of Shaftsbury, upon the Lord Delamere's letter, was his friend to help him off, and procured his discharge."

Sir Peter Leicester, in 1673, describes Norbury as a chapel of ease to Stockport.

Henry Newcome refers to this incident in his *Autobiography:* "1st December, 1683. As I rode past Norbury chapel I thought of Mr. John Jolly, who for preaching there was fetched up by the Council, &c."[1]

This was not the first trouble John Jolly had through the invasion of pulpits. In January, 1669-70, he was summoned to London for refusing to come out of the pulpit at Gorton Chapel (near Manchester) when the duly licensed curate wished to occupy it.[2]

He was about this time, and probably earlier, acting as assistant to the Rev. John Angier of Denton. He was not an Independent, but rather favoured the Scotch Presbyterianism. He only received Presbyterian Ordination (at Manchester) 29th October, 1672.

He died very suddenly, being seized with a palsy, at his house in Gorton, 17th June, 1682. He was buried at Oldham; Mr. Oliver Heywood preached his funeral

[1] Chetham Society, vol. xxvii. p. 247.

[2] *History of Denton Chapel*, Chetham Society, vol. xxxvii. pp. 77, 85.

sermon. Calamy says he was about forty years old at the time of his death, but he was probably a few years older. He left a wife and six children,[1] viz. :—

(1.) James Jolly. Nothing certain is known of him except that he is mentioned in the will of his uncle Nathan Jolly in 1711.

(2.) John Jolly, entered Frankland's Academy, 23rd February, 1688. In 1691 he came into Lancashire (see Church Book). He was ordained at Wymondhouses 29th September, 1696 (see Church Book), and was for some time minister at Newton-in-Bowland; he then came to Altham to assist his uncle, on whose death he was chosen pastor at Wymondhouses. On 25th January, 1713–14, he married at New Church, Pendle Forest, Rebecca, eldest daughter of Thomas and Isabel Grimshaw, and widow of John Livesey.[2] She was born at Oakenshaw in Clayton in 1666, and died 17th November, 1720. John Jolly was a friend of the Rev. Peter Walkden, minister of Hesketh Lane Chapel, who enters in his *Diary*, under 18th July, 1726, that he spent the evening in the library of the late revered Mr. Jolly. Between 1715 and 1717 several letters were written by John Jolly to Peter Walkden, dated from Hinfield and Sparth.[3]

[1] O. Heywood's *Register*. See *Lanc. and Ches. Ant. Notes*, p. 181.

[2] A long account of her is given in the Church Book; she was said to be related to the Grimshaws of Clayton Hall.

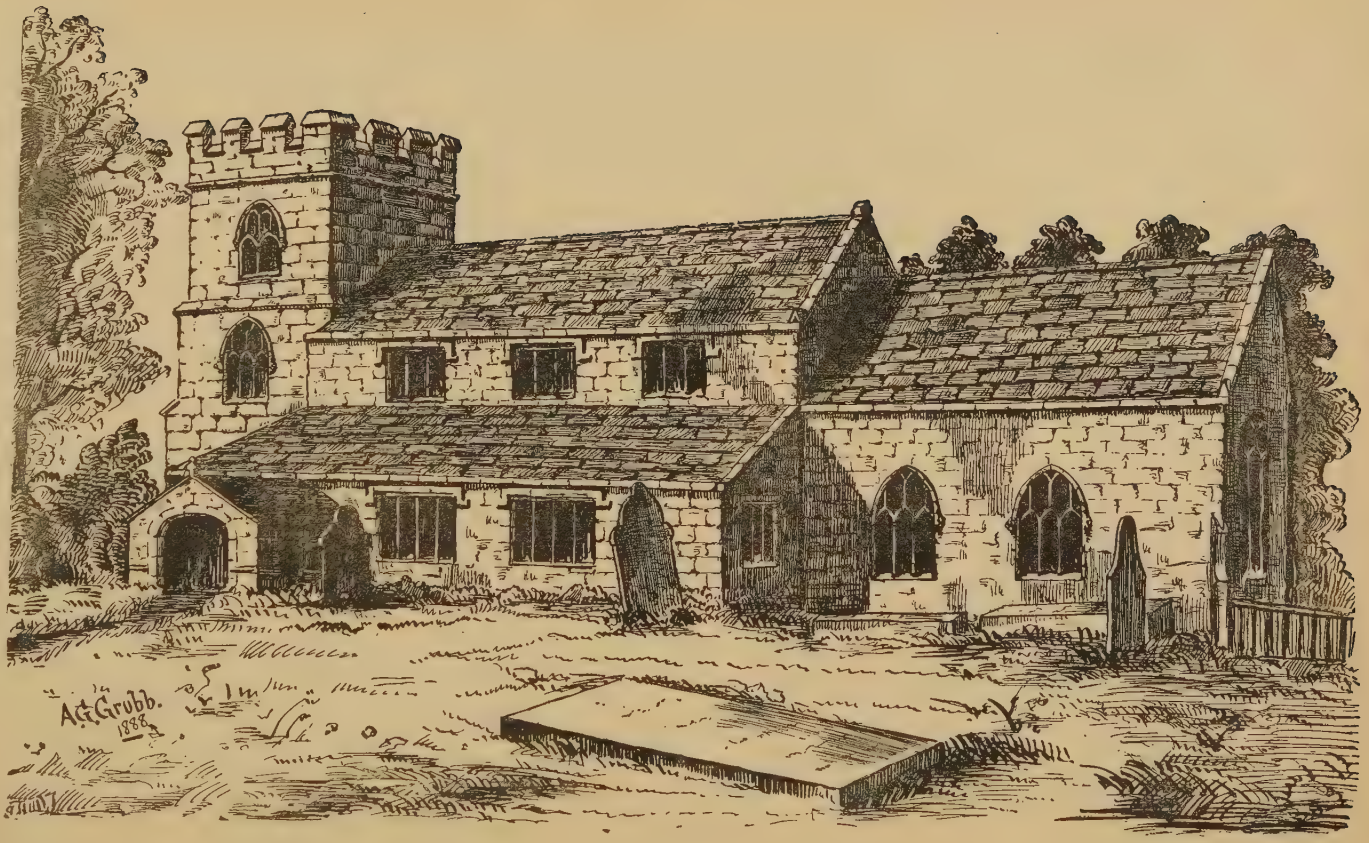
[3] He was also minister of Sparth, see O. Heywood's *Diary*, Christmas 1713, and June 1725.

When he was in his sixteenth year he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where (he subsequently recorded) "God provided for him and kept him from presumptuous sins, and also wet his soul under the ministry of Mr. Hammond and Dr. Hall.[1] He remained at the University between three and four years. He does not appear to have taken a degree, but on his becoming a candidate for the chapel of Altham he received a certificate to the effect that he was "studiously and piously affected."[2]

One of his contemporaries at Trinity was Oliver Heywood, who in his autobiography also refers to the benefits which he derived from the preaching of Mr. Hammond at St. Giles'. Almost immediately after leaving Cambridge, when he was only twenty-one years of age, Thomas Jolly was appointed pastor to Altham Chapel with "the unanimous consent of the people" on 16th September, 1649.[3]

At this time the national religion of the country was Presbyterian, although the Independants had a parliamentary majority. Mr. Jolly's appointment to Altham would of course be made with the consent of the classis for the county division, the vacancy in the cure was caused by the removal of the Rev. Giles Clayton to Coley in Yorkshire. Oliver Heywood, who was subsequently curate of Coley, describes Mr. Clayton as a "holy man and a serious preacher, though not of eminent parts, yet desirous to do good."

[1] Church Book. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.*



ALTHAM CHURCH.

This pastor does not appear to have been very successful at Altham, as the advent of Mr. Jolly has been stated to have been "as life from the dead to many thereabouts," and it was only after much effort that he succeeded in settling in an amicable manner the differences between the Presbyterian and Congregational portions of his parishioners. Having accomplished this, a code of rules for church discipline was established, which are given *in extenso* in the Church Book.

The chapel of Altham is a very ancient foundation. As early as 1249 it was reduced from an independent church to a chapel-of-ease to Whalley. It is dedicated to St. James. At the beginning of this century it remained very much as it was in Mr. Jolly's time. It consisted of a small nave and two side aisles of three arches—the choir, having been allowed to fall into dilapidation, had disappeared; there was one bit of the original church still left, viz., the baptistry, which Whitaker describes as "rude, deep, and cylindrical," it was walled into the porch. The church was restored in 1860, and a tower added.

When Mr. Jolly accepted the ministry of Altham the salary attached thereto was "mean" and probably only consisted of a sum paid by the owner of the rectorial tithes of the mother church of Whalley; but in 1650, in addition to £10 a year from this source, £30 a year had been ordered by the committee of the county, and a further sum of £50 per annum by order of the committee of plundered ministers out of the sequestered estate of Thomas Clifton, Esq., who was a Papist. The chapelry

then consisted of the township of Altham and part of Clayton-le-Moors.[1]

In October, 1651, Mr. Jolly was married. Concerning his wife, beyond that she is said to have been "a most excellent woman,"[2] and that she died, 1653, in giving birth to her second son, nothing is known. She was buried at Altham.[3] The Blackburn church register contains an entry to the effect that "Thomas Jollie, pastor of Altham, having an intention of marriage, publication was made thereof at our Market Cross—1st time 5th day of March, 2nd time 12th day of March, ye last time 19th day of March, 1653–4"—but the marriage itself is not recorded. It, however, took place, and in the October following he was again a widower.[4] In May, 1654, he went to London, and is said to have "found favour in the eyes of the commissioners for the approbation of ministers, who made use of him as an instrument to prevent corruption." No doubt his father's position in the late wars would be to him a strong recommendation to the commissioners. During this year Mr. Jolly had a dispute with Mr. Webster, which was carried on in writing. This was no doubt the celebrated John Webster of Clitheroe, the author of *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft.*

In 1655 Mr. Jolly's sister came to live with him, but very shortly afterwards to took to himself a third wife,

[1] *Lanc. Ch. Survey,* Lanc. and Ches. Rec. Soc., vol. i. p. 165.
[2] Church Book.
[3] See Note Book, 12th month, 1688.
[4] Church Book.

who died in the following year in childbed; thus in five years he had married and lost three wives. Amongst the letters of condolence he now received were those from his brother John, then in Dublin, his father, and Mr. Marsden the pastor at Kendal.[1]

In the next year we find Mr. Jolly visiting Chesterfield and Wakefield to consult with other ministers as to the communion of churches; and in 1658 he is again in London, where he attended the general meeting of the congregational churches at the Savoy, and preached before the assembly.

The vicariate of Whalley in 1653 being vacant, Jonathan Schofield, on the petition of the inhabitants, was appointed to officiate there until further orders.[2] On his removal to Douglas Chapel in the parish of Eccleston, about 1656, William More appears to have got possession of Whalley against the wishes of many of the inhabitants, who in 1659 invited Mr. Jolly to become their minister, which, however, he declined to entertain, one of his reasons being that he thought Mr. More should be dealt with in a fair manner, and asked to resign; another reason was that he did not wish to be a vicar.[3]

Up to this period the minister of Altham had led an active life, and was looked up to as one of the leading men amongst the presbyterians of the north of England. In his own parish he had much to contend with in the

[1] Church Book.

[2] Cal. *State Papers*, Dom. Ser., 1653; see also *Hist. of Rochdale*, p. 197.

[3] Church Book.

way of strife between the conflicting religious sects, but with the restoration of the monarchy his real troubles began, and probably no minister in Lancashire was made to suffer more than he was for conscience's sake.

In November, 1660, a warrant against him from three Deputy-Lieutenants was executed by three troopers, who took him to Preston, where he was charged with sedition. The Oath of Supremacy having been put to him, he was discharged, but only to be again arrested on the 15th February following, and detained some time in custody. On the 15th March, Captain Nicholas Bannister, of Altham, "violently shut him out" of the chapel, and the Lord Lieutenant declined to assist him, but a few days afterwards he was cited to appear at the Bishop's Court at Chester to answer various charges made against him. His chief persecutors at this time were the Rev. John Lightfoote, rector of Bury, Mr. Moor, vicar of Whalley, and Richard Walmesly of Dunkenhalgh—the latter shut him out of Langho Chapel, where he occasionally performed service. Mr. Jolly was to appear at Chester on 11th November, 1660, when, amongst other offences, he was to be charged with refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer, and as this was true, he found himself "in a great strait," but, as he puts it, the "Lord made a way of escape by taking the Prelate out of the world." But shortly afterwards the suit was renewed, and "again it pleased God that the Prelate died."[1] This interpretation

[1] Dr. Walton, bishop of Chester, died 29 Nov., 1661, and his successor, Dr. Ferne, 16 March, 1661–2, and the next bishop, Dr. Hall, died 23 August., 1668.

of the ordinary events of life as being special acts of Providence on his behalf is very characteristic of Thomas Jolly. Not only were two bishops removed for his benefit, but the rector of Bury died through the effects of a fall.[1] The following articles were exhibited at Chester against Mr. Jollie on 28th November, 1661 :

"James Whittaker of Altham, carpenter, said on oath that twelve years ago Thomas Jollie came and preached at Altham Chappel, and after some time of continuance amongst them he got to be ordained by the Presbytery that were in those parts on the promise that he would defend the Presbyterian government to the last drop of his blood. That for all this time he has taken upon him the office of minister, but for the last nine or ten yr^{s} with the dislike and against the wishes of ye inhabitants and ags^{t} the mind of the s^{d} W^{m} More. He had for three years past had a separate congregation of his own, w^{ch} he called the Society, and he doth deny to administer Baptism or Lord's Supper to any not of this Society, neither will he bury them or suffer other ministers to do so. That he had never heard of his using the Prayer Book. That for many years past he has kept a private conventicle at his own house, or in one of the Society's. Mr. Bannister, one of the inhabitants, got the key of the chapel and would not admit Thomas Jollie to preach because of nonconformity, but Thomas Jollie got a new

[1] Mr. Lightfoot's successor was appointed 2nd March, 1660–1. *MS.* as quoted in Slate's "*Nonconformists' Remains*," p. 197. The *MS.* is evidently from part of the original Church Book.

lock and key and preached ever since. [Then follow other charges, one being] that he delivered Jenet Cunliffe to Satan, &c., also Joan Atkinson, and refused to bury a child ten years ago."[1]

Much of this was undoubtedly true. The end was not long in coming, for on 25th July, 1662, Captain Bannister and his Ensign John Grimshaw "came rudely to his closett-door" to cite him once again to Chester, though, Mr. Jolly adds, "they must gett some canns of ale into them before they came to putt a little courage into them," and on the 17th August Captain Bannister, Captain Alexander Nowell, and Ensign Grimshaw, brought the order for his suspension and forced him out of the chapel, though he had "intended to take his leave that day in obedience to authority." When he found that they would not suffer him even to preach or pray in the porch, he withdrew, saying to Captain Bannister "this is not the way to lure away the wrath of God from his house, which had long been upon it," to which he answered, "bee it soe." To prevent any private meeting, a squadron of horse soldiers was sent to the village.[2]

At this date Mr. Jolly broke up his house, and as he expresses it was with "his three young children putt

[1] Raines' *MSS.*, xii. 308 (from Bishop's Registry).

[2] *MS.* quoted in Slate's *Nonconformists' Remains*, p. 198. On 16th March, 1664–5, Captain Bannister died, and Jolly records that "he lived to see his male issue rooted out; he became his own executioner by excessive drinking." Soon after Mr. More (late vicar of Whalley) died "in great poverty and dis-esteem; his wife died shortly after him."

to wander for a considerable time without any certain dwelling place."

He soon after went to live at Healey near Burnley, where he says he "sate down as a sojourner," and where, on 9th October, 1663, Captain Parker, his Lieutenant and two soldiers, seized him, set him behind one of them on horseback, without boots or hat, and carried him into Burnley, from whence he was taken to Bury, where he was examined by Colonel Nowell and Mr. Holt of Castleton concerning certain private meetings. He was required to find sureties, and in the meantime he was sent to a house (probably in Bury) where, whilst he was "at family duty," Captain Nowell came in and plucking the Bible out of his hand dragged him "to the court of guard," where he was left all night to lie upon a bundle of wet straw, and at daybreak taken to Skipton, where, after being detained some, he was sent back to Healey.[1]

In November he was again arrested and taken to York, where he was detained a prisoner in the Marshall's for a month, but no fault being found with him "in the matter of the kingdom" he was released.[2] Possibly this latter arrest was probably on suspicion of being a party to the plot[3] for the overthrowing of the Government, which led to the meeting at Farnley Wood, in Yorkshire. This conspiracy was led by Captain Oates and his son Ralph. The latter when arrested stated that "Jolly, a minister in Lancashire," and Colonel Birch had each a party ready,

[1] *MS.* quoted in Slate's *Nonconformists' Remains*, p. 200–1

[2] *Ib.*, p. 201.

[3] Known as the Farnley Wood Plot.

and would march to Halifax, and that he (Jolly) had often preached at Captain Hodgson's house. Twenty prisoners were convicted of treason and executed. Hodgson was arrested, but was released, being found guilty of *misprision of treason.*[1] That Thomas Jolly preached and prayed at Captain Hodgson's house is certain. He was there in the July previous, when the house was surrounded with spies, and the people assembled were got out of the back door into the field;[2] but notwithstanding this, it is scarcely probable, although his sympathies were strongly against the Government, that he really was prepared to take any active part in an open rebellion.

At a religious meeting being held in the house of Richard Ingham (12 February, 1664–5) he was surprised by Captain Parker, whose soldiers broke open the door and took Mr. Jolly before Justices Starkie and Braddyll, who committed him to Lancaster Castle, where, with Robert Whittaker and John Bailey he was imprisoned for three months.[3] Yet again, on the 23rd November, 1665, Mr. Jolly was arrested and taken before Justice Edward Rigby, who, having bound him over to appear if required, sent him home again.[4]

When the Five Mile Act was passed (in 1665) it of course necessitated his living at the required distance from Altham. In 1667, notwithstanding the Act, Mr.

[1] Whitaker's *Ducatus Leodiensis.*
[2] *Memoirs of Captain Hodgson,* p. 59.
[3] *MS.,* Slate's *Nonconformists' Remains,* p. 203. [4] *Ib.*

Jolly purchased Wymondhouses, at the foot of Pendle Hill, and removed his goods thereto,[1] and commenced to gather a Society around him. At first his congregation was small, indeed at one time he preached to two women only. His meetings were soon discovered, and he was more than once arrested. He also held meetings in the neighbouring houses, and on one of these occasions, at Abraham Howarth's house at Altham (25th April, 1669), he was taken by his old enemy Captain Nowell, and he got committed by Colonel Kirby[2] and others to Lancaster goal for preaching within the prescribed distance, and refusing to take the oath required by the Oxford Act.[3] He appears to have been in prison nearly the whole of 1669.

In Mr. Jolly's house was a staircase which led from the common sitting-room; at the bottom of the stairs was a door divided in two so that the upper part could be made to fall back on to brackets, thus forming a kind of pulpit. To this was fixed a string, so that on an alarm being given the door could be closed and the preacher could go up the stairs and thus escape.[4]

Oliver Heywood preached for him in February, 1671-2, when he writes in his *Diary* "went to his house on the north side of Pendle Hill that night, stayed all day, and went through his books."

[1] Church Book. [2] *MS.*, Slate's *Nonconformists' Remains*, p. 204.
[3] Jolly adds, Col. Richard Kirby was shortly after himself made prisoner for debt, and all his estates seized.
[4] Slate's *Nonconformists' Remains*, p. 211.

In 1672 the Act of Indulgence was passed, and Wymondhouses was (with five other places in the district) licensed for preaching, and a meeting was held there "to bless god that hee putt such a thing into the King's heart." (Note Book.)

In 1674 the Declaration of Indulgences was cancelled, but the licenses were not immediately called in, which gave Captain Nowell another opportunity of persecution, so on the 14th June in that year he came to the meeting place whilst service was going on, held up his pistol to Mr. Jolly (who was in the pulpit) and commanded him to come down; he subsequently issued warrants for the levying of a fine upon the preacher's goods. Another warrant was made out against Thomas Riley of Slade, in whose house the meeting was held. (See Note Book.)

Sometime between 1662 and 1671 Jolly was married to his fourth wife, who died 8th June, 1675. (See Note Book). In 1679 Mr. Jolly preached for four hours at Kipping in Yorkshire, when Mr. O. Heywood prayed for nearly two hours.[1]

From this time to 1693 the life of Mr. Jolly is detailed almost from day to day in his Note Book, and it is not necessary to repeat it here.[2] His frequent journeys to

[1] Heywood's *Diary.*

[2] It is singular that the Note Book contains only a passing allusion to the Surey Demoniac case, which Jolly took up in 1697, maintaining that the demoniac possession of Dugdale was "as real a possession as any in the gospels." (See *Surey Demoniac Tracts.*)

WYMONDHOUSES CHAPEL.

London, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and elsewhere; his frequent preaching (sometimes ten times in each week), and his communications with other ministers, all exhibit an amount of zeal and energy not often surpassed. During these twenty years he was several times arrested for various reasons, his bitterest foe seeming to be Alexander Nowell.

The foundation of the little chapel at Wymondhouses (adjoining Mr. Jolly's house) was laid 15th May, 1688, and the building was completed on the 14th July following, the first service being held there the day after. This chapel continued to be used as a regular place of worship until about 1869, after which for a few years a sermon was preached there once a year, for which the minister received £1. This was a bequest by Thomas Jolly's sister Mrs. Dean[1] (see Note Book under 1692). The building then fell into ruin and all trace of it has since been removed.

At a general meeting of the United Brethren[2] at Manchester, 4th September, 1694, Mr. Jolly and Mr. Newcome were appointed to manage the correspondence for the county, and in 1695 Mr. Jolly was selected to preach at the next general meeting.[3]

In February, 1698–9, Mr. Jolly, being in bad health, made a will which was probably never executed, and was

[1] This appears to be now lost.

[2] In 1690 the Presbyterians and the Independents were united, and meetings of ministers appointed to be held.

[3] *Manchester Classis*, Chet. Soc., vol. iii. (New Series) pp. 352–3.

certainly never proved (see Church Book). He recovered from this illness, and in the year following made his last journey to visit his son at Sheffield. He died 14th March, 1702–3, aged 73 years; at his own request he was buried at Altham. There is no memorial to mark the grave; the church register gives "Buried: Mr. Thomas Jolly of Pendleton, in the p'ish of Waley [Whalley], March 18."

A chapel was erected at Altham in 1876 as a memorial to the Rev. Thomas Jolly, and inserted in one of its walls is the lintel stone from the old chapel door of Wymondhouses, and bearing the initials T. J.

Although Thomas Jolly left many *MS.* sermons, and wrote several papers on religious subjects, he does not appear to have had anything printed except his pamphlet in reference to the *Surey Demoniac*. He and the Rev. John Carrington were the compilers of the account of this singular case,[1] which was published in 1697; and Mr. Jolly in 1698 wrote *A Vindication of the Surey Demoniack as no Imposter*. It is much to be regretted that his nephew and successor destroyed a considerable number of manuscripts left by his uncle (see Church Book Notes), and that others are now, it is feared, hopelessly lost. A large portion of his Library was subsequently sold in London.

[1] "*The Surey Demoniack* or an account of Satan's strange and dreadful actings in and about the body of Richard Dugdale of Surey near Whalley in Lancashire, and how he was dispossest by God's blessing on the fastings and prayers of divers ministers and people, &c. London, 1697."

Calamy says of Thomas Jolly that his preaching was plain, practical, and pathetic, and he generally watered his discourses with many tears; he had a happy talent in rousing the sinner and comforting the saint; he adds his deportment was singularly grave, both at home and abroad.

He had issue by the first wife two sons, by the third wife one son, and by the fourth two daughters (possibly more), viz.:

(I.) Thomas Jolly, baptized at Altham, 31st October, 1652.[1] When about nineteen years old he was sent to London to prepare for the ministry, but fell into a decline and died at Warrington, on his way home, in September, 1671 (see Note Book).

(II.) Samuel Jolly, born in 1653. His father carefully records his marriage as taking place on the 9th November, 1686, but fails to furnish the bride's name. In 1682 he went to London for "his license by the college" (see Note Book) to practice as a surgeon. After his marriage he settled at Attercliffe, in the parish of Sheffield, and there died at the end of April, 1691. On the floor of the chapel at Attercliffe is the following inscription: "Hic situe sunt reliquiæ Samuelis Jolie nuper Attercliffiensis medici. Transiere patres, simul et nos transibimus omnes Cæli patriam qui bene transit habet. Amoris et mortalitatis posuit hoc *Μνημοσυνον*. T. J. A.D. 1701." The initials T. J. are no doubt those of the Rev. Timothy

[1] In the Note Book (November, 1671) the expression occurs referring to this son "as it was in his case who was born blind"—probably the words are not to be taken literally.

Jolly. The parish church register at Sheffield records that on the 1st May, 1691, was buried (at Attercliffe) "Samuelus Jolley, gen'." His wife died shortly before him. Of his "conflicting life and comfortable death" his father wrote a short account, but it has not been preserved. He left issue one son, Thomas Jolly, who was of course an infant at the time of his father's death. In May, 1691, his grandfather went to York to take out a tuition bond (see Note Book), and he then probably took him to Altham, from whence, on 30th May, 1711, he was sent to Bradford Chapel in Norfolk, where he was ordained on the 13th June following. On the death of his cousin (second cousin) John Jolly in 1725 he succeeded to the ministry of Wymondhouses, where he remained until 1737, when he removed to Cockermouth, where he died 8th June, 1764, and thus terminated the long connection between the Jolly family and the chapels of Altham and Wymondhouses.

(III.) Timothy, of whom hereafter.

(IV.) Sarah Jolly, was married and lived with her husband at or near Altham. She died 10th February, 1688-9. Her father quaintly described her as "a pretious soul in a crazy body and carryed like a christian in every respect;" some of her husband's relations were "very good but conforming" (see Note Book). The baptism of two children is recorded—Thomas, 4th January, 1687-8, and John, 4th February, 1688-9. Shortly after the birth of the latter the mother died, 10th February, 1688-9.

(V.) Elizabeth (?). The Church Book (1711) gives amongst the members of the Society, "Elizabeth (was Jolly), wife of one Smalley." This was probably another daughter of Mr. Jolly's.

Timothy Jolly, the youngest son of the Rev. Thomas Jolly, was born at Altham in 1656. When he was in his seventeenth year he was sent to Mr. Frankland's Academy at Rathmell. He left there and went to London to prepare for the ministry in 1675, and in 1680 he received a call to Sheffield (see Note Book), and in the April following he was set apart to the ministry of the Independent chapel, then newly erected at Snig Hall. He was ordained by his father, Oliver Heywood, and others, at Sheffield, 28th April, 1681. During this next year he married . . . ., the daughter of the Rev. James Fisher, the ejected Vicar of Sheffield, and he and his wife paid a visit to Altham in the August of that year. In 1682, for non-compliance with the Five Mile Act, his goods were seized, and as he refused to enter into a bond for good behaviour, he was sent a prisoner to York, where he was still in custody in June, 1683, when he was visited by his father (see Note Book). Mr. Frankland's Academy was removed to Attercliffe near Sheffield, and on his death in 1698 Timothy Jolly succeeded him as Tutor, and is said to have had a very successful school. One of his students was Thomas Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1700 a new meeting-house was erected for him, which was afterwards known as the Upper Chapel. He died 28th March, 1714, and was buried in the chapel

yard at Sheffield, where a monument bears the following inscription :

Chr. Ser. Sa.
Timotheus Jollie,
verbi Dei interpres eloquens
et evangelicus
doctrinæ Christianæ fundamenta
. . . . do, vir prope divinus,
virè magnus.
Philosophiam, sacramq. Theologiam
professus,
juventutis tutor felix peritus.
In ecclesia Christi Sheffieldiensi
per annos . . . .
pastorum . . . . vigilem fidumq. ;
in cœlum migravit
5 calend. Aprilis A.D. 1714
ætatis suæ 56
Christus in vitâ, in morte lucrum.

Arms — a sword between two keys; on a chief, three dexter hands. (See p. v.)

His wife was also buried here on 20th January, 1708-9. He published (1) a Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Thomas Jolly, &c., 1704; (2) a Memorial or a Character of Mr. Thomas Whitaker, 1712.

Oliver Heywood had a high opinion of Timothy Jolly. He characterised him as "well accomplished for his work, both for learning, parts, sweet temper, and soundness of faith."[1] He had issue several children, but in 1700 there

[1] O. Heywood's *Remarkable Return of Prayer*, and J. Horsfall Turner's edition of *Diary*, &c., vol. iv. p. 164.

only survived three — two daughters aged respectively thirteen and eight years, and a son Timothy aged nine years,[1] who was born at Altham, in August, 1691. The evidence as to the place of his birth is not perfectly satisfactory, but in July, 1691, Mr. Thomas Jolly's only surviving son was assisting his father at Wymondhouses, and in August he (Thomas Jolly) enters in his Note Book "my weakly daughter" safely delivered and "the lord adding to me another grandson; her sparing is a publique mercy considering my son's circumstances." Like his father and grandfather he was educated for the ministry. After his father's death there was a split in the congregation at Sheffield, when the seceders established the Nether Chapel, and of the Upper Chapel Mr. Wadsworth became the pastor, and Timothy Jolly acted as his assistant. In October, 1715, he married a daughter of Mr. Symond,[2] and in June, 1720, he removed to London to assist the minister (Mr. Matthew Clarke) of Miles' Lane Chapel, Cannon Street, London, whom he succeeded as pastor in 1726; he died from gout 3rd August, 1757.[3] He published "*Christ's Dominion*," &c., 1730. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. David Jennings.

[1] O. Heywood's *Remarkable Return of Prayer*, and J. Horsfall Turner's edition of *Diary*, &c., vol. iv. p. 164.

[2] Dickenson *Register*. [3] Hunter's *Hallamshire*.

Jolly Family of Wigan.

Another branch of this family was settled at Wigan. One of this stock was Robert Jolly, who in November, 1619, was one of the bailiffs of the town of Wigan. He had issue a son, baptized at Wigan 21st August, 1608, to whom he gave the christian name of Ambrose; he was then living at Standishgate.

Ambrose Jolly married at Wigan on the 21st January, 1637-8, Elizabeth Forth. In 1649 he was mayor of Wigan; he died in the spring of 1685, and his will was proved at Chester on the 25th May in that year. He was twice married; his second wife Anne, survived him, and to her he left his messuage or burgage in Standishgate, Wigan, wherein he then dwelt. He appears to have been in good circumstances, his goods and debts due to him being valued at £649. He does not mention any sons in his will, but he leaves legacies to his sister Elizabeth Hallsall, his daughters Mary Jolly, Susan Sharne, and Ann Jolly, and his grandchildren Hannah Markland, Ellen Markland, Hugh Markland, Mary Markland, Martha Markland, Emy Osburne, William Osburne, Ambrose Osburne, Andrew Osburne, and Richard Osburne. The Wigan registers furnish the baptism of three of his daughters — Katherine (1639), Elizabeth (1641), Grace (1644).

Henry Fishwick.

Pedigree of Jolly of Standish, Gorton, and Altham.

Authorities: Wills, Registers, Harl. *MSS.*, &c.

Arms: See p. v.

[Seth?] ..... Jolly = ...

- John Jolly, bur. at Standish 28th March, 1570-1. = ...
  - James Jolly of Standish, co. Lanc.; buried at Standish 8th Oct. 1588. = Anne .....; bur. at Standish 24th Nov. 1599; admin. at Chester 8th April, 1600.
    - Thomas Jolly of Bickershaw in Abram, parish of Wigan; inventory at Chester 15 Nov. 1630. = Jane, dau. of John Aldred; died a widow; will proved at Chester 2 May, 1640.
      - James Jolly, born in 1600, clothier, afterwards Provost-Marshal General in the Parliamentary army; mar. at Manchester Col. Church 21 Feb. 1625-6; died 7 Nov. 1666, bur. at St. Michael's Church, Chester; will pr. 20 Apl, 1667. = Elizabeth, dau. of John Low of Denton, co. Lanc., relict of John Hall of Droylesden; died at Altham, and there buried, 6 Feb. 1688-9, aged 92 years.
        - A
      - John Jolly, christened at Leigh, co. Lanc. 1st Nov. 1601; living in 1640. = Ellen, dau. of Richard France.
      - Ellen Jolly, christened at Leigh, co. Lanc., 6th Oct., 1603. = Robert, son of ...Aldred of Atherton
      - Ann Jolly, christened at Leigh 4th Nov. 1605. = Thomas Yeat of West Leigh; mar. at Wigan 18th Sep. 1628.
        - Katherine; living 1640.
      - Mary Jolly, christened at Leigh 29 Sep. 1612. = William Hampson of Henley; mar. at Wigan 22nd April, 1628.
        - Henry, living 1640.
    - Edward Jolly of Blackrod, co. Lanc; living 1600. = Alice, dau. of ..... Vause of Blackrod.
      - James; inv. at Chester, 1639.
      - John.
      - Johanna, bap. at Standish 8 March, 1600-1.
    - Lawrence Jolly, bap. at Standish 24 Jan. 1561-2; living 1600. = Helen, dau. of Miles Gerrard of Ince.
      - James, bap. at Standish 1 Aug. 1595
      - Edward. Slain at Marston Moor.
      - Margaret, bap. at Standish, 21 Oct. 1598.
    - A daughter, bap. at Standish 25 June, 1563.
  - Thomas Jolly of Standish; bur. at Standish 15 Oct. 1630; will proved at Chester 14 April, 1631. = Grace.....; living 1631.
- Robert Jolly, bur. at Standish 30th May, 1583.
- Alexander Jolly, bur. at Standish 9th Aug. 1586.

A

James Jolly, chris. at Gorton chapel in 1627; at Cambridge in 1648; living in 1667; died before 1684.

(1)..... mar. in Oct. 1651; died in 1653.

Thomas Jolly, born 14 Sep. 1629, at Gorton; ejected frm Altham 1662; died 14 March, 1702-3.

(2)..... mar. 1654; died 11 Oct. 1654. *s.p.*

(3)..... died in 1656.

(4)..... died in 1675.

John Jolly of Trinity College, Dublin, minister; died at Gorton 17 June, 1682; buried at Oldham.

Alice..... mar. 2nd Joseph Leech of Newton nr. Manchester, 17 May, 1692.

Thomas Jolly, bap. at Altham 31 Oct. 1652; died at Warrington Dec. 1671, *s.p.*

Samuel Jolly, born in 1653; died in April, 1691.

..... mar. 9 Nov. 1686; died in 1688.

Thomas Jolly, succeeded to Wymondhouses in 1725; died at Cockermouth 8th June, 1764.

Sarah, died at Altham 10 Feb. 1688-9.

..... living Feb. 1688-9.

Elizabeth, mar. ..... Smalley; living 1710.

James Jolly; living 1711.

John Jolly, succeeded his uncle at Wymondhouses; mar. 25 Jan. 1713-14; died at Oakenshaw nr. Whalley, 29 June, 1725; will proved at Chester.

Rebecca, dau. of Thos. Grimshaw of Oakenshaw, and widow of John Livesey; born at Candlemas, 1666; died 17 Nov. 1720.

John Livesey; died 19 May, 1708.

(?) Edward; living 1695.

Elizabeth; bap. 16 Mar. 1677-8; died 29th. Two other children.

Timothy Jolly, minister of Independent Chapel, Sheffield; born in 1656; mar. in 1681; died 28 Mar. 1714; bur. at Sheffield.

..... Fisher, daughter of the Rev. Jas. Fisher, vicar of Sheffield; buried at Sheffield 20 Jan. 1708-9.

Timothy, born 1691; minister of Miles Lane Chapel, London; died there in 1757.

A daughter, aged 13 years in 1700.

A daughter, aged 8 years in 1700.

(1) Lucy ..... buried at St. Oswald's Ch. Chester, 29th April, 1710.

Nathan Jolly of Chester, ironmonger; died in 1711; will pr. at Chester, 8 Jan., 1711-12. *s.p.*

(2) Rebecca Boydell; mar. at St. Oswald's, Ch., Chester, 29th May, 1710. *s.p.*

Mary Jolly; died in Manchester, and bur. at Coll. Ch. Manchester, 26th May, 1691.

..... Dean of Manchester.

Samuel; died in 1690.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly,

1671–1693.

HOW uncharitable soever the matter of that peite (the cure of church divisons), and how unseasonable soever the publishing thereof at this time might seem to some, I had occasion by it, something better to know what spirit I was of, and my heart did not reproach mee in those things. My retireing in the 5th m. [1671][1] was for a research of my wayes and of repentance upon sensible declinings: also as to my dear relation whose fondness and frowardness upon that account was in danger to bee some temptation to mee: I had also occasion to bewayle restraint upon my spirit as to publique concernments, and to stir up myself on that behalf. Some litle help and hold was gott on this day. The temptation which an eminent p'son was carryed away withall so as to leav her husband and family upon some provocations did necessitate mee for the sake of relligion as her own to deal more plainly with her by letter when fairer dealing prevailed not: my ministerial calling and speciall interest in her engaging and encouraging mee thereunto, though alass! (I doubt) I somthing lost soe dear a friend by it, but her own wound which shee hath not yet recovered should more trouble

[1] The 5th month is July. Mr. Jolly followed the old style, and reckoned March as the first month of the year.

mee, and the wound given to relligion should most of all trouble mee.

Notwithstanding all my continued multiplyed labours I have not the word to take nor the work to goe on, as was expected, which might bee an occasion of some temptation to slack in my duty, sitt down with other comforts; yea I could find now that I came not off from duty with the like encouragment I came on to it, indeed as to those severall occasions which still occurred as to the church of Walmsly the lord did still help and bless in very gracious manner.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1671] was upon the account of my temptation to security and worldlimindesness, that the lord would give strength to bring forth, as to any hopes of enlargment in the generall and in particular as to my caus to bee tryed at the next assizes, the lord did help graciously, and gave hopes that hee heard the prayers of this day, soe was it also in respect to the more solemn day wee had together upon this occasion: ps. 90, 16-17: accordingly it came to pass at the assizes: for though mine adversary had many advantages and pursued them with much violence: so that the court was in a tumult, and his party did sway the judge for a while, yet did the lord soe help my spirit and act my counsell above himself, the judge's heart was turned and the bill was quashed, yea the business was soe ordered by the providence of god that they could not renew it against mee, but went away confounded, for the work was of god, they were soe infatuated as to miss all the 4 wayes appointed in the Act for the recovery of the penalty, and took the indictment which it allowes not. It pleased the lord to prepare mee for the issue whatever, and to try mee by various reports concerning it, my great danger and fear was lest I should bee overcome by myself now I had overcome my adversary, my desire and prayer was that the lord cast my adversary on his face, as hee did Paul: though hee thought to throw mee on my back: a sweet and blessed day of thanksgiving wee had at my house on this occasion.

God was very good to mee in helping mee where I laboured to overcome the temptations of psons, not only neglecting my sufferings for the gospell, but my service to them in the gospell, I was also still helped in more publique opportunityes and in more private work in familyes (might I but see success answerable for conversion and ædification) yet much infirmity in mee and temptation attending mee.

My retireing in the 9th m. [1671] was for the confirming of the covenant 'twixt God and my soul: also on behalf of my relations and these nations soe shamefully sold unless god interpose: much weakness yet some expience: power wholly without encouragment, humbly to beliv and patiently to wait.

Much afflicted about this time by my sister in law's (Margarett Heap's) poysoning of herself, through the extremity of her temptation by her husband's ill carriage and her own melancholly withall yet had shee space to repent in and I hope did indeed repent. About the same time also I had the tydings of my eldest son's dangerous condition in a deep consumption, this did much break my heart upon several accounts, yet did the lord pour down a spirit of prayer on mee and others on his behalf and there was noe intermission of my labours at home or abroad nor interruption of divine assistance neither: wee had a solemn day together on his behalf to enquire out the caus and beg grace. The cause of my retireing in the later end of the same month was further to enquire why the lord did thus threaten to take away my son, whether it was to bring my sins to remembrance and so slay my son, or that I must bee tryed whether I would indeed offer such an Isaac or it was only for the glory of god, as it was in his case, who was born blind, also to make atonement and to entreat the lord's favour. I had also some infirmityes and temptations by my nearest relation to bring before the lord, also as to some scandalls breaking out among us and the neglect of disciplin as to the caus and church of christ also. I hope I found grace in his sight and help in this work yea notwithstanding temptations in my soul travells with my

body and want of ordinary preparation the lord helpt wonderfully in my work according to his good word ps. 73, 26, concerning my going to London upon the account of my son, soe great a journey in the depth of winter about such a difficult business, was somewhat hardly consented unto by my wife but the brethren concurring with me it was concluded to bee my way, considering that I could not have satisfaction in the sending of any other in that case. My way being cleared, I sett upon my journey towards London that very evening, though my dear wife waked and wept all that night upon account of my difficultyes and dangers.

In 5 dayes I was brought to London the providence of god (in whose name I went forth) working graciously about mee in my journey thither and ordering things there, it was indeed wonderfull considering the sharpness of the season and my sons weakness, that hee should bee brought by the stage coach to Chester in 6 dayes. Oh! the exercise I had by the extremityes wee were putt to all along, and how the lord renewed him to hold out to Chester, therto I brought him in a Sedan to Warrington where wee light on the family of a near and dear relation of my sons mother; but a feaver with a fluxe seizing on him there I could bring him noe further homewards it is unexpressible what agonyes of spirit hee was putt into when hee apprehended his end to bee come; those convictions and assertions which hee had all along and which hee had declared to mee more lately did work up to that height in a little time and hee soe poured out his expiring soul, as I cannot think of without astonishment. Oh! the troubles and feares the desires and hopes that wrought in him, hee confessed and lamented some wantoness of carriage and breach of Sabbath before hee went to London, afterward his pursuit of humane learning in neglect of better things, and the putting off the secureing of his eternall concerns, also his ignorant yielding to a fellow-pupill of his in going to a play about which his heart presently smote him; for which things hee had been in great trouble formerly and had shed many a tear. His great

fear was lest he should not bee sufficiently sensible of originall sin and not close with Christ sincerely, lest fear of hell should have too much influence upon him herein, his evidences were that god was his choice though all the world were presented to him and that hee might live to enjoy it; that he would love god and hate sin as dishonourable to god: also his love to good company and zeal for the sanctifying of the sabbath with his enmity to vain company and comunication; these were working on him all along but more particularly and wonderfully when hee was with his tutor, most of all when his diseas did seiz on him and as death drew on. Seing his appointed time was come it was ordered in many circumstances very graciously, not only for my satisfaction but his also ps. 46, 10, being preached on upon this occasion, I hope was in some measure expienced also.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1671] was to humble myself under gods mighty hand in this heavy stroke, that the lord should take away a son of such pragnant hopes for grace and gifts in such a time of need: that hee should answer prayers by such terrible things in righteousness yet I would not forgett the mixture of mercy therewithall, the wormwood and the gall were rem'bered that my soul might bee humbled within mee and soe I might have hope. The case was putt to the utmost whether my state was good, my calling of god. Though I durst not disclaim what god had done yet I found need of much more to bee done. Also I had to bescheech the lord that hee would pleas to make up the loss in himself in my greater usefulleness and a double portion of the spirit upon those hee had yet spared to mee: also that I might sanctify and glorify his name under this dispensation that it may bee throughly sanctifyed and blessed to mee. A bruis I gott by the fall of my hors with my foot under him served to putt mee in mind of my many deliverances and putt mee upon thankfullness. My coming off so poorly from duty (as aforesayd) taught mee not only to see to preparation work but how I close up any solemn ordinance and (as it were) clench the nail. Upon concluding of those subjects at home, viz., psal. 46,

10, Isa. 9, 7, later and I had some speciall expience in secret. My retireing in the 1 m., 1672, was not only as to my own spirituall condition but the want of spirituall strength to bring forth there not being such a publique powerfull spirit as was requisite to lift up a prayer for the remnant that was left.

At last also with much trembling I gott up to keep a day of thanksgiving on the behalf of myself and mine, yea on behalf of my son deceased, that being my first and fittest child hee was designed and disposed for the lords work; that hee was cast under such a tutor and had such advantages for his soul that hee was in some measure kept from the sins of the times or was humbled wherein hee had stepped aside that hee was taken with such a diseas which gave mee and him time to prepare, that it was ordered for my going to see him and bringing of him down that wee were strengthened soe wonderfully in so difficult a work and freinds raised up soe signally that hee was brought soe far and cast in such a place that hee gave such an account and I had such satisfaction as to his æternall estate that I had so much of gods presence and assistance in the affliction that hee helped my wife in my absense, and that I found all soe well at home though I had speciall discouragments in the preparation to the work of this day yet were there also some special encouragements as to assistance and acceptance.

Upon this great tryall and some suitable work upon my spirit the lord was pleased to exalt himself and make himself known in Christ pforming a great work for us in a more publique way by his zeal as lord of hoast, for his own glory and his Church's good even whilst I was in other parts yet insisting upon those subjects ps. 46, 10, Izai. 9, 7, for then had wee the tydings of the King's declaration for indulgence which many received with much jealousy but there appeared unto mee a great hand of god in it for speciall good to us if wee soe take and use it considering the circumstances of the providence and my own expience withall.

[So far the *MS.* is followed *verbatim et literatim*, the portion that follows is abridged, but no names of persons or places are omitted].

My retiring in the 2nd m. [1672] was to prepare for more enlargement and pray for others to that purpose, also that the lord would not only return our captivity, but return his presence herewith.

In this month wee met in obedience to authority to make atonement and intercession for the people of god and the people of the nations, it was a day wherin the lord did own mee more than ordinary especially in secret we begun betimes to make use of the liberty granted in generall by the suspension of the paenal lawes (though yet wee had not received our Licenses) but a strange spirit of envy and enmity begun to stir even in the more moderate sort of the praelaticall party.

Soon after I retired my Licens for publique teaching and 5 severall Licenses for 5 severall places (according to his majesty's declaration and my desire) conveniently disposed as to my hearers and most inoffensivly to any. Too much jealousy too litle faith in many as to these things. I had caus to acknowledg somthing more of god, with it the renewing of my dayes somwhat as of old. Wee met accordingly at my hous solemnly to bless god that hee putt such a thing as this into the king's heart, to grant us all our request according to the goodhand of god upon us it was a good day the Sanctuary-waters did flow more fully afterward, a great change lately I might not dwell at my own hous now wee might freely meet there. Wee took occasion to begin a new service at Slade[1] (one of our Licensed places) upon the 29th of the 3rd m. [1672] the (day of his majesty's return) to avoid offence, if wee had taken noe notice of it, and to take further occasion for promoting of Christ's Kingdom.

My retireing in the 4th m. [1672] was not only upon account of my own spirituall condition, but especially for a blessing upon the liberty (formerly taken and) now given. Some signall expience of gods kindness both to soul and body at the Spaw noe small

[1] Slade near Padiham. On 1st July, 1673, Oliver Heywood records in his *Diary*, "preacht an excercise at a licenced place called Slead with halfe a mile of Padium."

mercy in the pusall of Mr. Allein's life[1] yea of Monsieur de Renty's life, which flight on there must I sharpen my tooles with the philistins. On the 2nd of the 5th m. [1672] in the morning there happened an earthquake which I heard and felt on my bed.

My retireing in this month was especially upon the account of some corruptions and temptations getting head in my family, to beg the grace and good spirit of god for mee and mine. Oh! the more dangerous snares of a more peacefull condition! yet had I troubles of another sort at home and abroad concerning a small estate I had at Longton.[2]

I had also my expiences of gods kindness at times in my soul and otherwayes, but not without deep thought and distresses as if I had lost all and were lost to myself at one time especially. About this time my reverend brother Mr. Smith dyed, whose dying words to mee were the more wee doe for god the more comfort wee have from him. It did something pleas mee that I was enabled to bear the somwhat homely admonition of brother Whittaker as to some weaknesses in my preaching as hee thought.

My retireing this 7th m. [1672] was to humble myself for my failings and gods withdrawings my giving way to temptation and his letting it loos upon me; also to seek the lord on the behalf of those I am especially concerned for.

Wee still took that occasion of 5th of 9th m. [1672] to bless god solemnly not only for that former deliverance but our present liberty though wee had soe many other occasions publique and

[1] Joseph Alleine's life was written by Richard Baxter, 1677.

[2] This he had from his father. A list of deeds referring to this and other lands in Longton were in possession of Major James Jolly in 1652, and copied by Ran. Holme (Harl. *MSS.* 2042, fol. 309). In 1651 "Major James Jolly" petitioned the committee for compounding, and shewed that four years before he had purchased certain tenements and waste land in Longton, Howick, and Hutton from Thomas Charnock of Leyland, of the yearly value of £3, and in January 1649–50 he had compounded at "an exceedingly high rate;" and he prayed that the commissioners for Cheshire might examine the matter as "his employment in the State's service prohibited him then leaving that county."

private at home and abroad, for it was (through grace) our endeavour to redeem this time and emprove this advantage for the good of soules, not only taking all opportunityes for that end but taking any cours with sinners for their good, not only psuading and alluring them but setting the glass of the law before them to let them see themselves therein, but setting the sword of the threatning (especially of gospell severity against gospell-sinners) to their breasts that they might be pricked at their hearts, yea wee were putt to cutt of some by the excercise of disciplin as to restore others wee needed the two-edged sword to wound errors on each hand and some blessed god for the brandishing thereof to that purpose. Oh! how gladly would wee have those valleys of dry bones to live and that these stones might bee raised up children to Abraham.

My retireing in the 10th m. [1672] was upon account of my failing in duty and my foyling with temptation, in my generall calling I am an untoward child with Ephraim if not a prodigall son.

At a church meeting to humble our soules and seek the lord, to consult and conclude about some church matters wee deferred our beginning of the exercise with prayer for the sake of some wee waited for, and soe fell into discours about some things in debate among us, this Satan gott advantage against as one of the brethren (who had much excercised us before) charging mee publiquly in very unworthy manner, but the lord helped to bear the affront, wee went on with our work.

One intending to hear a minister of the antinomian way upon the following Sabbath did dream that I was to preach upon rom. 10, 16 (I not having preached on that subject before nor hee knowing my purpose any other wayes) that same Sabbath which made him come to hear mee that day (though hee scarce ever heard mee before) and finding it as hee dreamed, hee was soe wrought upon by the word with the providence that (I believe) it issued in a saving change upon him, hee told mee of these pasages above a month after.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1672] was upon the sens of much failing and filthiness, upon the sens of little of god in all and of good by all, also to seek the lord for the concerns of mine and of the publique.[1]

About this time the troubles of my dear brother concerning his adventuring to preach[2] in the place of his former publique ministry did befall him through the violence of some violent gentleman hereabouts, though hee did beuray too much his own infirmity, in that business yet it pleased the lord to humble him for it and to overlook it, yea to help him mightily before the king and counsell and to turn it to his advantage every way.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1673 was upon occasion of my litle spirituallness much carnality, strong temptation thereunto and thereupon with divers other cases publique and private.

Wee met at one of our Licensed places solemnly to bless god for all that liberty wee had the year past both publique and private, I hope this thank offering found gracious acceptance. In visiting Mr. R. S. I was helped to doe my duty to him and for him, I cannot say much of the effect upon him, nor may forgett that his reverend pastor had somtimes sayd concerning him hee thought hee would at last goe out in a snuff but I had (I am sure) severall lessons to learn from his and death. Among all those wee had caus to bless god for at our excercise wee did more particularly take notice of that other hopefull plant the lord made to spring up among us, viz., Mr. Tho. Whittaker.[3]

Though wee could not keep the 29th of 3 m. [1673][4] on that account nor as enjoyned by autority and therfore judged it not convenient to meet publiquly, yet wee kept that day in way of thanksgiving at my hous privatly for what the lord had done by

[1] The various reasons given for retirement are in many cases very much abbreviated, as they present nothing of personal or general interest.

[2] John Jolly, see p. vii.

[3] Probably Dr. Robert Whittaker of Healey, near Burnley. Whitaker in his *History of Whalley* (vol. ii. p. 242), says that Thomas Jolly after his ejection retired to Healey. He only remained there a short time. See p. xxi.

[4] 29th May. The Restoration of Charles II.

the king and that wee might come as nigh to obedience unto autority as wee could — it was a good day. My retireing in the 4th m. [1673] was to seek the lord upon severall accounts and (I hope) it was not in vain.

In holding forth the mistery of the work of redemption I felt more than ordinary of the mercy thereof, soe also as to the work of providence both keeping mee and carrying on his work, in hearing my reverend brother Heywood[1] at our excercise on ps. 86 ult. I was also much spoken to by the ministry of brother John Baily[2] who seemed to bee sent from far to admonish and encourage mee at several times. There were three signall answers of prayers on a solemn day at my hous, viz., my elder son's recovery from under some bodily distemp and the weather changing which had been very threatning: also as the dispose of my younger son with my reverend brother Mr. ffrankland,[3] to bee trained up in university-learning. I had it from an honest honourable pson that a while ago in a Masquerade at Whitehall one who was supnumary (for the number was known though the psons were disguised) did dance to the astonishment of all the Spectators soe that they suspected it to bee the devill, wherfore one bolder than the rest stepped to him and asked him what they were doing in the other world to whom he answered thou shalt know within a month, and forthwith pulling off his mask a death's head appeared and soe it vanished; accordingly the man dyed within a month, whereupon the chief pson concerned forbad any more masquerades. A relation of the dead party (being a judge) did openly speak this at an assize, and it was also reported by a gentleman usher to his majesty, as my said honourable friend told mee.

My retireing in the 7th m. [1673] was not without great caus

[1] Oliver Heywood.

[2] John Bailey, son of Thomas Bailey (see *post*), a member of the Altham Society; he was born 24th February, 1643–4, near Blackburn (see Church Book), ordained 1670; he was sent to Lancaster Castle for non-conformity, and afterwards went to Ireland. In 1683 he left this country for America. He died in Boston in 1697. See *History of Blackburn*, p. 358.

[3] Of Rathmell Academy.

in reference to my spirituall state finding my fruit not too bee as before also in reference to others in my severall relations whom I had failed, yea been a temptation unto, that my distempers in this case might bee throughly healed and my desert supplyed, with other occasions. I had occasion to bless god for the expience of that day and what followed upon it as to myself, but unheard of inundations of waters abroad and much harm done thereby, the lord threatening to deny us our harvest becaus wee yield not his harvest to him and making distress upon us for not paying his dues; much mercy in my wife and hopes in my children. Halelujah! thus ends the 44 year of my age [1673].

How sweet it is to have the sens of gods grace in ones own soul amidst much provocation to the contrary, how sweet a sight to see the grace of god in others, particularly to see a friend of mine carrying soe humbly toward her husband who was inferior to her every way, but in place.

The 5th of the 9th m. [1673] wee had renewed occasion to spend as a day of thanksgiving, indeed my own expiences of divine incomes and influences out of great infirmityes cannot bee expressed and enumerated.

Soon after dyed Brother Thos. Baily,[1] that faithfull servant friend and follower of Jesus Christ, I might well apply that to him, ps. 37, 37.

My retireing in the 9th m. [1673] I was pressed unto by some doubts and difficultyes as to both my callings, and by a good providence of god also in supplying mee as to encreas of my charge in my educating of my younger son.

The 25th of 10 m. [1673] wee could not keep as others did, but rather chose to spend it in mourning for the sin of the time privatly and in prayers rather than to follow our particular callings openly to the offence of others.

My retireing in the 11th m. was upon my being much urged with my own and others infirmityes and temptations, also as to

[1] The father of the Rev. John Bailey. See p. 11 *ante*, and Church Notes.

the dark and doubtfull estate of the church of god. It may be looking too much at gifts and at the peoples flocking to the meeting might bee the caus of those infirmityes more than ordinary which I feel at this time, as if my gifts were blasted, and that the hearers began to decline in their affections, yet was I somthing renewed with the case of Paul, gal. 4, and of Christ, Isai. 49. That pretious soul and main pillar among us Sister Cromock [1] at this time being somthing entangled by temptation and bewraying some infirmity more than ordinary as to variety in attire and as to some of her relations, it was a great affliction to mee, and taught mee less dependance upon any creature. The publique fast appointed by autority was observed by us in our publique [exercise] at Lango,[2] the lord did accept the sacrifice, own us in the service and encouraged us as to answer of the supplications of that day. Ann Worrall[3] of Manchester about this time destroyed herself to the great astonishing of the better sort and hardening of others, I hope shee was good as to the main and that it was Satan with her melancholly that drave her to that despate end ; but shee had not carryed well in some things for which shee was cast out of the church of Duckenfeild long since and then fell in with the Rebaptists. In the 1st m. 1674 dyed that old disciple Brother Hey an elder of this church, hee was eminent for faithfullness, publiqu-spiritedness, and usefullness in his place to the last ; hee dyed in good old age in much inward peace (though hee sayd hee had noe ravishments) and in much outward eas also ; wee soon after mett at his hous to bewayl our great loss and beg the filling up of his room. My retireing in this 1 m. was upon the account of the bodily weakness of my dear yoke fellow, it was a day of prostration and humiliation, god was not only sought, but found in some blessed efforts of her speciall grace upon that occasion : also the means for her

[1] February, 1671–2, Oliver Heywood, whilst on a visit to Mr. Jolly, preached at "M'tris Crumback's."

[2] Probably this service was in Langho Chapel, 20th January, 1673–4.

[3] "Hannah Worrall hanged herself." See Newcome's *Autobiography*, p. 206.

health was directed unto which the lord blessed, indeed at present her weakness encreased soe that I was putt to the excercise of every grace above ordinary and particularly of self denyall, that if the lord would bereay mee again I was willing (though his grace) to bee a stone of stumbling to others as my dear lord was, my wife was considerably better hereupon. A pastor, I was then about concerned to assist in setting apart to the church at Topcliff[1] (formerly at Woodkirk) in Yorkshire, the order agreed upon was that the teaching officers (though of other churches) should bee made use of for the setting of them apart to the ministry of the gospell (they not being ordained to the ministry before) by the laying on of their hands according to the order of the gospell (as I have elsewhere fully manifested), but some of another society stumbling at that practice and some of that Society taking hold with them, there was much distraction thereupon, soe that the major part of the brotherhood with the pastor and teacher to bee ordained were constrained to condescend to the ruling Elders of the same Society, their laying on hands alone or the meeting probably had been dissappointed if the business had not been wholly dashed.[2] I did testify against that disorder (as I humbly conceived it) and signifyed my fears that the lord might testify against them for their not seeking him in due order (which alass! they found afterwards to their sorrow in the discontent which ensued amongst them and the death of both those psons soe sett apart): but I did give the right hand of fellowship to the psons soe ordained however as being eminently qualifyed for the work and being sett apart to it, though not soe orderly as was desired. One Hartley being an antinomian and much followed by that party everywhere, was discovered and driven out of the countrey for some scandalous practices about this time, one of his followers also was convicted and condemned to bee burned for assisting in the murthering of

[1] The Rev. Christopher Marshall was ejected from Woodkirk, in Yorkshire, in 1662. He appears to have established the Congregational Church at Topcliffe.

[2] Dashed = spoiled or destroyed.

her husband that shee might enjoy his brother-in-law, she was a great stickler for that way (which soe abuseth the grace and neglects the lawes of Christ) and came to that woefull end. Among many occasions and opportunities I had one with my brethren solemnly to bless god for our peacefull enjoyment of the gospell soe long notwithstanding others deprivation and our danger, the publique peace with our neighbouring nation of Holland when it was soe unlikely, the seasonable seeding after such a storm and the wonderfull recovery of my wife though the sentence of death was passed upon her it was a good day. It was an hard time with poor christians, my worthy friend Generall Venables[1] did therfore putt considerable sums of money into the hands of severall ministers to distribute that way; hee putt 16 broad pieces of gold into my hands to that purpose, requiring of mee to conceal his name and engage their prayers.

One of our solemn dayes of prayer was more signally owned than ordinary, the lord answering us as to the fall of meal that week to the half rate, and in the clearing up of the weather from that very day. One whom I knew who was given to vanity, swearing, drinking and whoring when he came to dy was filled with such horror that hee sayd little doe any know what I have endured, doe endure at present and what I fear, on the sabbeth before he dyed, hee received the lords supp when grievous shreikings and lamentations were heard; the same night also wherein hee dyed the same cryes were heard such as could not bee attributed to any ordinary caus. A good presence of god was manifested in the church, guiding and uniting their counsells about filling up of a sufficient number of officers and removing of scandalls to the last day of our Licensed liberty; though not many were added to them in this time, yet many were convinced of their way and better satisfyed concerning them, our liberty was not in vain.

[1] Robert Venables, a Colonel in the Parliamentary Army; in 1655 he was raised to the rank of a General; he died in July, 1687. See *A Discourse of the Warr in Lancashire*, Chetham Society, vol. lxii.

That Parliament not liking our having such liberty or (at least) not liking its being granted in that way, they would not consent to the king's declaration for indulgence, but caused it to bee cancell'd, yet were not the Licenses call'd in and cancell'd, wee therfore went on in our Licensed places, being loath to quitt this liberty soe pretious to us, rather thinking it should bee taken from us, if it must goe, understanding also his majesty's aversness to the revoking of it.

Though wee had notice overnight of justice Nowell's[1] intent to take up our meeting next day, yet did divers of us meet at the place sooner than ordinary to consider what cours wee should take, and that all might bee done with cōmon consent. I was encouraged and did encourage the brethren to goe on in our wonted manner as being most honourable to our progression in those circumstances, and undertaking to bear mine own penalty if the worst happened, yet through the discouragment of the master of the hous and distraction of people at first they inclined to depart and soe I was constrained with much trouble to yeild to the dismissing of the assembly ; whilst I was declaring myself to the people in order to the dismissing of them there was a sudden strange change among them, for those who had most opposed our going on were now for it, yea, all the people were willing to run the hazard and bear the penalty of the hous, if there were occasion, the assembly being thronged full, and all composed wee fell to our work according to our usuall method, before I begun and in the carrying out of the work, I felt a more than ordinary presence of god, wee read the 6th of daniel; when I was preaching upon hos. 5, 15, chap. 6, 1, 2, 3, and shewing how the lord smiles and teares, heals and binds up a people, how there are grounds of our turning to god, and calling upon others to turn, captain Nowell with his man came into the meeting place (Slade), commanded mee to come down swearing most blasphemously calling mee most shamefully, and threatning to

[1] Roger Nowell of Read Hall, Captain and afterwards Colonel in the Royalist Army.

pistoll mee (holding up his pistol at mee) if I came not down presently. I was not much moved with all his outrage, yet I came down and went along with him peaceably. I was detained prisoner two dayes and nights, dismissed upon bond to appear again: they would have bound mee also to forbear preaching in the meantime; but that they must excuse mee in. When I appeared their design of banishing mee was prevented by an act of grace which was passed a while agoe, and their design of imprisoning mee was laid aside by Justice Braddyll.[1] Would I have promised to forbear meeting in our usuall manner and to keep to the number allowed I had their promise for the remitting of what was past: becaus I could not promise that they threatned to levy the 20*l.* upon mee and soe I was let goe: I came to the brethren mett at my hous and soe took a journey into the northern parts wherein I had much expience of gods good presence with mee and providence about mee. At my return wee had a day to seek of the lord a right way in our present distress, and had the speciall ordinance also at my hous upon the Sabbath following, but upon the week following the warrants were issued forth for levying 20*l.* upon my goods and 20*l.* upon the master of the hous wherein wee mett, as things were I thought it my way to putt them about what I could in their cours, accordingly I disposed of my goods without doors, which were more liable and vendible. I also kept the doores of my hous shut against the officers who came to make distress, neighbours favoured us what they durst others interposed for us what they could some of the justices would have suspended the warrants but the violence of Mr. Nowell (then justice) drave on the excetution thereof, yet wee went on in our own way and in our own work though more privatly and cautiously. I had my temptations withall to discouragment at providence and discontentment at Mr. Nowell not finding goods in my fields nor having autority to forc my doors they layd my fine upon others,

[1] Thomas Braddyll, son of John Braddyll of Portfield.

seized on their goods and sold them, soe I must redeem them and soe I was forced to pay the money. An order from the lord treasurer by his Majesty's appointment for the restoring of the king's part of my fine was procured, but Mr. Nowell did very insolently refuse to obey the sayd order, yea, embezeld not only my fine but the hous fine and all the rest of the fines to his own private use, save that hee gave fourty shillings to the poor of Padiham.

My retireing in the 5th m. [1674] was upon account of this great change upon us with the causes and consequences thereof both as to myself and others. I was much affected with a letter out of Yorkshire for the adjourning of an association meeting becaus of threatning as to liberty; I presently and earnestly writ back that the meeting might hold the rather, accordingly some mett and were agreed upon some matters of present duty as to one another and as to the times: also matters of mourning and request, wee agreed to joyn in our severall Societyes for the humbling of ourselves and seeking of the lord upon the same day, viz., 24th of 6th m. [1674] when this day came wherein wee had agreed to repent and renew our seeking of gods face as to our failings in duty each to other as to cōunion in churches and of churches, as to the sins and miseryes of the times — it was a heart melting a soul-humbling day, this day many yeares since wee had our wound. Wee had also a day of solemn thanksgiving in our own Society for the Lord's granting to us such liberty soe long that now wee were suffered on such and were helpt to suffer in such a manner also for his great mercy in the seeding and harvest.

My retireing in the 8th m. [1674] was not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of the meeting of the messengers of the churches intended that it might bee for the good of the churches and of the nations. Though the meeting was in a publique inn yet wee were private and peaceable. The providence of god was much seen (without my knowledge and beyond my expectation) in stirring a stranger to mee, who heard of my late

sufferings to stir up severall of his acquaintances at London to contribute largely towards the making up of my losses, this with other more publique mercyes, were solemnly remembred in returning thanks to the lord on a day sett apart to that purpose.

My retireing in the 9th m. [1674] was to cry to the lord, not only as to my own condition but the condition of the churches and nations. In this month wee begun a conference concerning our Sepation from the evills of the times and our cōunion together with some other church-affairs all was managed with much satisfaction, the lord made darkness to bee light before us and crooked things to be streight all along. Our meeting on the lord's day being discovered wee cutt the excercise at that time somthing shorter and were putt more into the night, which was somewhat greivous to us, soe that we were putt upon more than ordinary seeking of god that hee would pleas to look on our condition, and hear our cry, deliver us from absurd wicked men, give free cours to the gospell succeed means to that purpose.

A singular providence of god that I had sold my land in Longton (see p. 8) before that litigious suit about it begun, also that hee speedily took away the man that had causlessly begun the suit. The dissappointment I mett with as to the repairing of breaches among ourselves and as to the reviving of the cōunion of churches, also concerning accomodation with dissenters and endeavours for the free cours of the gospell was much excercise to mee about this time.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1674] was not only in respect to my own severall callings and relations, but our present condition in generall, soe difficult, dark and doubtfull, that god would doe away sin and wrath yet shew us his way and glory. Some excercise also I had as to the discouragment upon my younger son in his place, but the lord heard solemn prayers in bowing his heart to obey mee and to return unto Nattland.[1] About this time I had a signall deliverance, fire kindled in the thatch of the

[1] Mr. Frankland's Academy, in Yorkshire.

hous by sparks out of the chimney, which was very providentially discovered and presently quenched, else it might shortly in that dry season, on that windy day have burnt down my hous and all the adjacent houses, it was very teaching to take heed of sparks of temptation, and to take notice of cōmon mercyes.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1675 was not only to search and mourn as to the state of my own soul, wherein there was caus, but on behalf of the dejected, distressed state of this and other churches; also on behalf of these nations and other cases. On the day of Parliament Meeting wee had a meeting to send up our addresses to the Parliament of heaven, it was a day of christ's power among us. A speciall return of prayers on behalf of sister Margarett Waddington who was in much darkness as to her spirituall estate upon her dying bed and her understanding taken from her, before I came to her, yet did the lord restore her understanding and cleer her condition before hee took her away: also a speciall return of prayers on brother Robert Waddington's[1] recovery and sister Crōmock's daughter, wee had divers good tokens of god's peculiar presence with us ther abouts. The case of John Hamond which happen'd about this time must not bee forgotten, hee was the son of godly parents and was much convinced, but had much business in the world and soe was drawn aside, yet was the lord dealing with him by affliction and soe reviving conviction upon him. Once more especially he much confessed his sins and promised reformation if the lord would spare him, but alass he was restored he returned to his old cours, he went not long on, but the lord arrested him again by a surfitt hee took with his drinking. A while hee thinks to putt off god with fair promises as before and to lick himself whole with his vain hopes, but on the 4th day of his sickness hee is in a trance arraigned before the judgment seat of god, when he had lyen about an hour in that trance, hee came out of it, hee sayd hee had received his eternal sentence at the bar of Christ and

[1] The minister at Tockholes.

was damned for ever; some of his relations fetcht mee to him, who with a steady countenance spake to mee to the same purpose, confessing that hee had deserved to bee soe dealt with for his deceitfull dealing with god and man; wishing all about him to take warning by him; when I would have fastened some encouragment upon him, hee would take none, but turned away from mee bidding mee let him alone awhile, his glass was almost run, when I offered to pray with him, hee refused it, though I told him if I might not pray with him, I would goe and pray for him, I went home and called in such help as I had at hand, when I returned to him, hee was still in the same strain, in a most dispairing condition and yet without any shew of distraction at present, but the day after hee fell quite distracted and soe dyed. I have not known such a sensible demonstration of the judgment to come, it was a most awfull consideration to psons of relligious education. Another such instance of a young woman, daughter to a brother of this society, must also bee remembred, for a warning to young ones as to youthfull lusts, though the issue of this instance was better than of the former; whilst she was very young shee lived in the sin of fornication with two severall young men, but being brought to a languishing condition shee confess her sin to us, and lay under a spirit of bondage for a considerable time, I was kept to speak to her and pray for her, her father called some few together who were fitt to bee acquainted with such a case, it was a good day (wherein god succored us an accepted time) though shee had been under such guilt and trouble, yet shee dyed hopefully and comfortable. Though my dear wife did much suspect it would cost her life if ever a feaver took her, and the feaver was rife in the neighbouring village, yet the importunity of her Sister in a ffeaver prevailed with us that I let her goe to and attend upon her sister for some time. The ffeaver soon after seized on my wife and the scurvey withall, which shee was subject to: seaven days shee was gently handled and wee had hopefull signs of her recovery: on the 8th day it alterd with her as to her body more as to her spirit, that evening and the

morning after she expressed her good hope concerning her spirituall condition upon the manifold expience shee had of god's fatherly care ever since shee had taken him to bee her father, withall bewailing her manifold failings especially her inconsistancy in secret dutyes and in walking amidst her hous as shee ought, yet comforting herself in this that shee had not wickedly departed from her god, shee spake to all about her and about her dissolution without any distraction, though she was not without temptation, the grace of god was wonderfull in this thing, for her ordinary frame in health was doubling and shee had a dread of death before time above ordinary but especially his grace was wonderfull in that hee was pleased to overlook her infirmity and afford his good presence to her, much more than in her former sickness. On the Lord's day following shee was much endeavouring to gett above her affliction and not to heed her vile body that shee might gett into the spirit of the day and keep a Sabbath to the lord, acknowledging his great love to her, desiring to bee refreshed therewith, shee very much had her desire granted, for shee sayd it was the best Sabbath shee ever enjoyed and shee did much honour god in it. On the 11th day shee had a lightning in the morning as to her body, soe that shee had thoughts of a recovery and a desire thereof upon my account, this might bee the occasion of her spirits not being carryed on in the same strain and indeed shee was not now altogether soe sensible. On the 12th day after a weary night shee told mee shee was sorry shee could give me noe better account as to her outward condition, yet was shee soe sensible as to mind mee of a promise I had made to visit a sick pson that day. About 8 a clock upon the 8th of 4th m. shee quietly slept in the lord, having finished the 42nd yeare of her age (I think to a very day). Shee was eminent in denying herself for the gospell's sake to the leaving of all her relations from whom shee had many temptations and to the doing of service on that account. Shee lost not by it, for god did signally own and honour her. Shee took delight in doing good to all, which made her generally and greatly beloved

and bewailed. Shee was a most loving wife and tender nurse to mee, if shee at any time offended mee, shee could not bee quiet until shee had acknowledged her offence and was reconciled. Shee was cordially loving and very faithfull to my children which I had by my former wife. Shee had a dear love for all the lord's people, more especially for this people whom shee desired to live and dy with. Shee had a most hospitable spirit towards those who visited us, especially towards good people, more especially towards ministers. Shee had a most ardent affection towards her relations, especially as to their eternall estate, begging a blessing to them (at her departure) and desiring her death might bee life at least to some of them ; when anything pressed her sore, her way was to gett alone and pour out her soul to god, indeed shee had notable expience of god helping her in ordinary, but shee took more speciall notice of his signall owning of her in some secret dayes, or some extraordinary occasions. Shee had her infirmityes which at times appeared and which shee was very sensible of; its probable shee might have mett with temptations too hard for her, yea, shee might have been a temptation to mee if shee had longer continued with mee. The day following I was torn in pieces with temptation, my heart was soe sore and sinking as was unexpressible and intollerable if it had continued, whether it was through the inordinary of my affection or my naturall infirmity, though weakness of grace or strength of temptation. On the evening of the day after I had some staying of my sinking, some binding up of my broken spirit, a litle support, the tempter a litle rebuked, was of noe litle account in that season, I thought my soul should never forgett that distress I was then in and that relief I had from above thereupon. At the interring of my dead I felt suitableness of the 39th psalm to my case and ver. 7, 8, were more especially spoken to me. At a ffast day under my roof upon this sad occasion my business was to gett help in judging myself before the lord that I might take just measures and feel the due weight of my affliction and sin, to humble myself before his

judgment-seat which also is a merci-seat; that I might indeed repent and find grace in his sight. The lord took away my wife formerly before the turn of the times, and those troubles ensued when hee took away my son; hee raised up comfort in my last wife and gave in publique liberty. That god would please now to rais up comfort to mee in my children, bless the dispensation to her surviving relations but especially that I might be comforted in Jerusalem. Her text shee left to bee preached upon was ps. 73, 24, was of speciall use to my soul in this tryall; another friend leaving this as her funerall text for mee to preach upon, the lord did keep me that I was not born down with the violence of the temptation nor did carry unbecom̄ingly in any respect.

My retireing in the 4th m. [1675] was upon the same occassion that I had called the brethren together upon the week before, but my spirits were soe spent that I could doe better in secret only there were some relentings that I should thus putt the lord to deal with me who is soe unwilling to afflict. I was indeed sore shattered with two sorts of temptations like Paul's two seas meeting, almost shipwracking mee as to faith and good conscience; I was either fainting and sinking, or dashing upon the work of my old temptation. A treatise of Mr. Hughs[1] on Hebr. 12, 12, 13, was of good use to mee, the issue was that I was even caught up into Heaven and conforted in him whom my soul loves by his good spirit. The manner of our meetings being such that it became intollerable, and the condition of some Candidates for the Ministry being soe discouraging, it came into my heart to take a journey to London for advice and assistance in these cases when the thing had been solemnly com̄ended to god by the Church they wholly left the business to mee.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1675] was upon former and further occasions as to my strong temptations, in com̄on but the more especiall occasion was about my London journey, there was some peculiar expience of god humbling mee, and shining into

[1] Hughes.

my soul inclining mee to the journey in hope it was of god and might bee for good. Having spent a solemn day in thanksgiving with my brethren for all the mercies wee had received, and being solemnly comended to the grace of god, I begun my journey and found the good hand of god upon mee in every respect, being brought to London in safety my business there was not to seek my own things but the things of Christ. I may not deny the speciall guidance and assistance which I had both privatly and publiquly, I must own the grace of god in Dr. Owen especially and in others also, the humility, sympathy, fidelity, and zeal, on this occasion. The way of gods dispensation towards us, in these nations, and the way of our duty in that respect was the subject of our enquiry in the generall, as yet they did not see it to bee our way to remove out of the nation particularly enquiry was made into our duty, as to the comunion of churches and severall cases referring thereunto: that we might see how they were practised, and stir up one another to that purpose: enquiry also was made into our duty towards our dissenting brethren; that stumbling-blocks might bee removed as much as in us lay and that wee practise our own professions in that case: for the providence of god had soe much removed severall obstructions of our comunion and brought us soe near each other.

A meeting of the Elders and messengers of the churches in and about London was called, something was begun upon as to the encouraging of suffering churches and candidates for the ministry with other matters tending to the publique good of the present and succeeding generations. In this very juncture the lord was leading our rulers into counsells for our liberty in a signall manner. I tarryed to see the meeting begun the business sett on foot, soe I left it with them and returned homeward to my work then. There was a speciall presence of god with mee and providence about mee through this journey though the design might have failed through my weakness, if I had tarryed by it and followed it further, yet was I troubled at my coming away, in that it fell to the ground soe soon after, however, I had

speciall occasion of solemn thanksgiving not only as to myself but my people and family in my absence, accordingly wee mett to that purpose and to bless god for the seasonable harvest, it was a good day. Amongst those several opportunityes about spirituall occasions which I had in Yorkshire in the 8th m. [1675] I had one secular occasion the by-business of a Suit, which I was necessarily concerned in and yet would carry in it as one unconcerned: I must seek righteousness, state my right, yet must I seek and suffer for love and peace. I may not part with these things soe as others will laugh at my folly and not thank my charity. Not long after the lord (who formeth all things for mee) was pleased by his good providence to bring the suit to some tollerable issue.

My retireing the 8th m. [1675] was not only for the calling out but the keeping out of the unclean spirit which was attempting to keep or recover possession forcibly in order thereunto that I might have the presence of the bridegroom and bee filled with the holy spirit; I had other occasions also both publique and privat.

Meeting more openly about this time and yet safely wee had some sights of blessed Jesus and some tastes of his love also in signall manner especially in speciall ordinances.

My retireing in the 10th m. [1675] was upon occasion of my corruption and temptation appearing in my elder son which hee bewayled and begged help against. It gave me further occasion to reflect upon and to humble myself. Another occasion was that the lord would prevent Mr. Nowell's putting again into comission of peace (for hee had been putt out for his very rude carriage and there was an attempt to putt him in again) and to lament the great degeneracy (even of the professors) of this generation and our security withall, as in the days of Noah. About this time I was much excercised by some unjust and uncharitable reflections upon mee as to the land in Longton (see p. 8) which I had sold, providence had soe ordered it, that a pretended title was sett up against mine after the bargain was concluded which

I knew nothing of before, and I had only given a particular warrantee, as is most ordinary. I sayd indeed I would doe what was fitting, when the party I had sold itt to and compounded with the pretender, as I sayd I would bee advised by two psons indifferently chosen lest I should bee partiall in my own caus, but knowing that hee had a great bargain of it, notwithstanding his charge in compounding, and that I had a poor bargain of it all things considered, neither could I nor the partyes concerned judg mee bound in righteousness or faithfullness in equity or charity to allow anything. It putt mee upon search and spreading the matter before the lord, soe I was helpt and hee cleered it in a litle time. One Haworth, clerk to Justice Greenhaugh,[1] notoriously profane and a pscutor hired severall psons to hunt meetings: this man picks a quarrell with those his companions, kills one and sore wounded another, whereupon hee fled out of the country and was followed with bloodhounds. One Slater of Downham, who bought the goods which were taken from us upon account of the gospell, not long after went bankrupt and fled out of the country.

Amongst our many opportunityes wee had one to bless god for health in such a sickly time, for food in such a scarce time, for any peace in such a time of trouble and temptation, by Gods goodness also appearing in keeping my children when others were left to themselves: some good fruit of my last London journey did then appear as to the disposing of some candidates for the ministry, yea as to outward concerns of my own, the lord gave mee to tast of his fatherly care, for being in some straits in the want of money towards the disposal of my elder son, the lord in that very juncture putt into the heart of Alderman Ashurst[2] to appoint one of the Country to give mee a token from

[1] Thomas Greenhalgh of Brandlesome, near Bury; he was High Sheriff in 1668.

[2] Oliver Heywood refers to him in his *Register:* "Mr. Henry Ashurst, fined for Alderman of London, a very holy man, died Nov., 1680, one of a thousand, aged 66. He was the son of Henry Ashurst of Ashurst Hall, in Dalton, co. of Lanc. When 15 years old he went to London, and ultimately opened a draper's shop. He declined the office of Alderman. His second son, Sir William Ashurst, knt., was Lord Mayor of London." (See *Local Gleanings*, vol. ii. p. 791.)

him with this passage in his letter, viz., it may bee such a one (naming mee) is in want and its pitty hee should bee soe. Now that I mention that worthy pson I call to mind a passage concerning which deserves to bee written in letters of gold, when I was once at London labouring to bring Dr. Owen and Mr. Baxter[1] together in order to a better understanding and brotherly accord betwixt them, I moved Mr. Ashurst to lend his hous to that purpose; he readily answered not only lend his hous but hee would give the one half of his estate upon such a design.

In the 12th m. [1675] two elders and another able Deacon were sett apart by prayer and fasting with imposition of hands. Brother Robert Waddington manifested much aversness to undertake the work but upon admonition hee was inclined to accept the call to it.

My retireing the 12th m. [1675] was upon the account of strong corruption and violent temptation to draw or drive mee aside that I must either sin or sink, mens throwing mire on mee must not serv turn, but Satan would save mee to wallow in the mire. I was reduced to such straits that I knew not how to keep on in my way, up to my work one day longer; the deplorable estate of the reformed churches, particularly in New England, was another occasion. I was also somwhat affected and assisted as to the churches and my relations; wee also mett together to humble our selves and seek the lord on behalf of our brethren in New England who were then in great distress and danger to bee utterly layd waste by the natives there. Wee had a speedy return in the defeating of the natives according to former prayers and to encourage us further in that work.

In the 2nd m. 1676, wee mett solemnly so bless god for his good hand towards the churches in New England, also as to any peace of these nations when neighbours were at war, and any peace in these nations notwithstanding the great attempts against us of late; also as to the fruitfull seasons and great plenty: as

[1] Richard Baxter.

to my family, the lords sparing my mother and restoring her to keep my hous in my desolate condition, it was a good day.

My retireing in this month was upon the old account of temptations, importunity, and my own infirmity. Once about this time wee had a narrow escape, notice of the danger being given to us, and wee dispsing sooner than was intended, the adversary came to the place of meeting and to my hous also, but hee was disappointed, it was wonderfull I should soe escape as I did, considering the varity and frequency of opportunityes I had at home and abroad, nearer and further off. The lord was pleased to visitt my elder son at Manchester with a violent ffeaver: it was a blessed visitation to his soul and the lord had mercy on him also as to his body; also a speciall return of prayers in the restoration of brother John Waddington junior to his right mind, when all other means failed and were layd aside; also as Sister Cottham, a desolate widow and her estate in a despate case: also as to my dear mother under a dangerous distemp of body: and Sister Cromock also: it was a finding time, hee was kind to my spirit in speciall ordinances and to my body also in reneweing of it strangely: hee had more work for mee to doe in Craven, where a new people and work then about begun to appear, likewise among the children hereabout for their proving and emproving in their catechism.

My retireing the 5th [1676] was not only upon account of the distresses of my soul and of the church of god, but the sending of my second son to London for his further emprovment to the ministry.

At a former meeting with our Sister-church at Walmsley wee had agreed to meet in our severall assemblyes on the same day to humble ourselves and seek the lord in reference to the present distresses of the churches, it was observed accordingly more solemnly than ordinary, and the lord made it a good day to us. Though I still took my circuits in the severall quarters round about in their ordinary cours, yet I still observed that I seldom found such help and success in all my opportunityes as I did

when I went into Yorkshire, I found also that god was still well pleased with our day of thanksgiving.

One [meeting] wee had in the 7th m. [1676] for the lords wondrous mercy in the season of the year and fruits of the earth. I was in this course of my labours put to some stand until I was instructed and excited to take cours as to some scandalls amongst us.

A speciall providence in my calling at Calton[1] as I went to Kendale M^tes^ Lambert being almost quite carryed away by the Quakers, the lord was pleased to bless my endeavours for the turning of the scales and for the fixing of her weak and wavering spirit; my business then at Kendale was to speak to the young schollars with Mr. Frankland, where and at Bolton and Lancaster I felt my whole man wonderfully renewed.

On my return I was mett with the dolefull tydings of Sister Cromocks death; I was much afflicted on that account and soe had all others caus to bee who knew her, she was one of extraordinary grace and gifts of extraordinary excercise and usefullness especially whilst shee was with us, shee did shine bright in her proper sphere; her removal to Manchester (wher she dyed) wee were not satisfyed in, and the event seemed to signify that the lord was not well pleased with it neither.

A sad providence also in the burning of brother Tipping's[2] dwelling house and barn about this time, there seemed to bee some rebuke in it soe came into his mind when hee saw his hous in a flame for giving way to temptation to the altering and soe disappointing of the meeting which should have been at his hous the sabbath before. A very few did much to bewayl the burning which the lord had made, and on the Sabbath after hee called us in the day time to meet in another hous that hee had gotten; the lord did soe enlarge the hearts of good people towards him

[1] In Kirkby, Malham Dale, Yorkshire.

[2] The house of John Tippin at Graine-in-Sawley was licensed for religious worship in 1695.

that hee discharged £20 debt which hee was in and had somthing to begin the world anew withall.

My retireing the 9th m. [1676] was upon finding that I was losing of that presence of God and influence of his Spirit which I had felt for the space of two months. . . .

About this time there was a signal hand of god upon one Feilden, a retainer to Captain Nowell, who had been an instrument of his in psecuting; hee was a very drunken and debauched fellow; on the Thursday hee was at the Abbey in Whally revelling and gaming where the lord smote him with an unsatiable thirst, in so much that hee layd him down and drank at the river on Saturday to quench his thirst: soe coming into an hous a stitch took him and hee dyed presently.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1676] was on account of sensible declining of my heart from god. . . .

The day of thanksgiving in this month which was generally observed by the churches, was also observed by us on behalf of New England which God has signally owned as appears more at large in Mr. Mather's[1] printed narrative of the Indian War. . . .

My retireing in the 1st m. [1677] was for the stablishing covenant with the lord and the strengthening of mee against temptation, also on behalf of my children, the youngest especially, whom I intended for London. . . .

My London journey at this time was not only nor cheifly upon the account of my younger son whom I brought thither, but I had designs of more publique good though alas they came to little effect through the infirmity of some of note and of myself too for want of prudence or pseverance in the management thereof. I had great occasion and wee had an opportunity at my return solemnly to bless god for his peculiar presence with mee and providence about mee in this journey.

My retireing in the 4th m. [1677] was upon account of my old temptation I had too much yeilded unto. . . . I had means

[1] *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England.* By Increase Mather, D.D., London, 1676.

of my humbling by the tydings of the death of Brother Briars[1] his death that morning.[2] . . . the said Brother since hee came into cōunion with us having grown exceedingly, and lived exemplarily soe hee dyed very christianly and comfortably ; that word Mat. 25, 21, might well bee applied to him though hee was young in yeares and a while in the lords service.

I had hereupon some help under mine infirmity . . . especially in Craven, yea, the lord was pleased to shew his soveraignty in restraining my adversary contrary to his resolutions and in executing judgment for mee even in my secular affairs, for as in a former suit (see p. 2) against mee the lord had cutt off the plaintiff soe in another suit unjustly and maliciously cōmenced against mee, hee was pleased by death to take away this plaintiff also and soe this suit fell with him in like manner.

My retireing the latter end of the 5th m. [1677] was but for part of the day upon account of the distemper of my soul, and the distress of my condition. . . .

My retireing in the latter end of the 6th m. [1677] was with my mother and my elder son, to entreat that the blessing might be propagated from generation to generation, and that my eldest son now coming to years of discretion might lay hold of the lords covenant, to that purpose hee did help and give hope. Those sermons on Exod. 15, 2, then about preached were transcribed and enlarged for the sake of posterity that they might be ꝑsuaded to own god as theirs and prepare him an habitation.

My retireing the 8th m. [1677] was to review the state of my soul, and renew my covenant upon the consumation of another year of my life, also as to the church and my family. As to my own children I had a gracious return particularly about this time in my younger son who gave good testimony of his own improvement every way and got some suitable employment.

That meeting in the 10th m. [1677] with our sister church of Walmsly was to consider the church-state of the church's seed

[1] Probably John Brears, who in 1650 was minister at Padiham. He signed the "Harmonious Consent."

[2] No day mentioned.

in their minority before they own the Lord's covenant, wee could only reckon them as members of the church universall, yet their relation to members of particular churches must needs be an advantage to further them. A letter from Mr. Mather[1] in New England came very providentially to us as to the business of that meeting.

My retireing the 10th m. [1677] was on account of my being so much captivated by temptation and shutt up as to duty. Among all our good dayes on severall occasions and our solemn remembrances of the church in N. E. [New England] particularly yet wee were much afflicted with the desolations by war and new troubles which did arise there.

A signall return of prayers not only in rebuking Mrs. L. tempations, but in restoring her from under the sentence death once and again.

My retireing the 12th m. [1677] was upon account of my own condition and the publique also. Oh! the signall providence of God also as to my outward man in Manchester, preserving mee from the harm of a dispate fall with my hors! I somtimes preached 10 times in 8 dayes. If I was at any time at a funerall against my will cast among the men of this generation under their worship it wrought to a loathing of their service a pittying of them, a bearing of my testimony and blessing of god that I was delivered from them.

In the 2nd m. 1678 one of our solemn dayes was solemnly to render thanks to the lord for any publique mercy spirituall and outward, for the signall recovery of one of my children and of another dear friend.

My retireing in the 2nd m. [1678] was upon my sens of little of god and godliness much of sin and Satan. Wee kept the fast day publiquly enjoyned by authority though wee had soe little encouragment from those in authority, I could say I felt more

[1] Dr. Increase Mather, youngest son of the Rev. Richard Mather, who in the time of Charles I. was minister of Toxteth Chapel near Liverpool.

breakings than ordinary for these nations. Now my journey into Yorkshire was not soe ædifying and refreshing as formerly it had beene, becaus of some unhappy differences which happened some of the churches there then-abouts, yet did the lord help mee in endeavours for healing by the more publique ministration and privat cōunication also.

My retireing the 5th m. [1678] was upon account of the shatterd sinking case of my head and heard, the evill case of the caus and church of god every where. Wee usually had one opportunity upon occasion of the seed-time and another as to the harvest; wee usually found providence altering the season in mercy from time to time.

I was somtime soe weak as to my work in Craven that I quæstioned whether I could doe anything at all, yet I was soe signally helped. I had not that encouragment among the people of Bradford-dale (I think they were the most ancient Society in the North of England) there I found such principles and such a spirit then as threatned the breaking of that Church.

My retireing the 7th m. [1678] was upon the finding of myself much overpowred with my old corruption, and almost baffled with a small temptation. Wee found caus and took occasion in this month to keep a solemn day of thanksgiving not only for the fair and fruitfull season wee had, but for the liberty wee had in some measure for a considerable time, and for the turning of our most inveterate adversary[1] out of cōmission once again in answer to our prayers.

The lord also found out other work for mee in another coast of the countrey beyond Bolton in the Moores, and hee was pleased to countenance mee there also. Being called into Craven to consult with my reverend brother Heywood[2] concerning that peoples cōmunion together upon the Lords-dayes I sate down

[1] This refers to Roger Nowell. See p. 26.

[2] Oliver Heywood, in his *Diary* under 2nd October, 1678, writes: "set out towards Craven, called at Kighley, met with my friends, lodged at John Heys, lay with Mr. Jolly."

with them, though the Supp ordinance was administred upon the week-day, and by the pastor of another people, they doing both in case of necessity and I joyning for the gospells sake, I hope the lord in some measure owned mee in it. About this time the discovery of the horrid popish plott[1] against the protestant relligion and the present government brake forth by a signall providence, the lord preserving the thorns in the hedg for the preservation of his people, though as yet many in power were pricking thorns to the lords people. The 5th of 9th m. [1678] was therefore to bee observed not only in remembrance of that former deliverance, but of this late deliverance also. There was a publique fast upon occasion of that plott which wee had good reason to observe also.

The people in Craven not yet having a pastor of their own I was called by them, and this church consented to my going thither every 3rd lords-day for a year, as I remember indeed there was not only their necessity inviting mee thither, but more sensible stirrings of affections which I found there than anywhere els. Once as I came from thence I was mett with a speciall tryall by the presenting mee, with others, in order to sequestring us among the popish recusants, yet god helpt us to own the publique mercy and our duty to authority, though they would needs, against all reason, especially at that time, number us among such transgressors. Wee mett to comend the case to god and consult about it.

My retireing in the latter end of this 9th m. [1678] was not only with respect to the spirituall estate of myself and children but the tottring condition of these nations. Then about dyed sister Katherin Halsted[2] widow, a faithfull servant of Jesus Christ. The sabbath after wee took our leav of her hous where wee had enjoyed many a blessed opportunity, the lord spiriting her above her sexe. It was a great priveleg to mee that my

[1] August 12th, 1678.

[2] Catherine Halstead of Padiham, admon. and inventory at Chester, 1679.

hous was a Bethell for many years together, every ordinance being dispensed there frequently, and the supp ordinance seldom anywhere els. Still the church had thither to flee without hindrance and meet there without disturbance. I hope she hath blessed my family as hee did the hous of Obed-Edom for the Ark's sake.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1678] was to renew my repentance for sin and my covenant with god, also on account of the hazardous condition of the church upon the proroguin of the Parliament.

The dissolution of that Long Parlaiment[1] (which had first undone and then would save us) though with promise of a new one presently was both of dreadfull and hopefull importance also, this occasion drave us together in the 12th m. [1678] when wee had a more full meeting and a better opportunity than ordinary; wee had also another meeting soon after upon account of the great business of elections for a new Parlaiment[2] and our great danger not only from forreigners abroad but traitors at home.

The tydings of the death of my Reverend Brother Mr. Gale[3] (to whom the whole church generally and I in particular upon the account of my two sons were very much indebted), about this time did much affect and afflict mee.

My retireing on the 1st m. 1679 was upon account of the new Parlaiment to convene that day not only on my own more private account but the publique also and posterity. Wee had also not long after a more solemn day on the same account. My hearing of my sons sickness at London and then not hearing of him for a long time must needs bee much excercise to mee, remembring how the lord had dealt with mee as to my eldest son, it was also

[1] From 1661 to January, 1678–9.

[2] The Election in Lancashire was 24th February, 1678–9.

[3] The Rev. Theophilus Gale, M.A., Fellow of Magd. Col., Oxford. He was ejected from Winchester in 1662. Died in London in February, 1678–9. Oliver Heywood calls him "that famous scholler and tutour." He was the author of several religious works.

of speciall advantage to mee and it may bee to him, such strong cryes being sent up on his behalf though the tydings prov'd not true. That day in the 2nd m. [1679] enjoyned by King and Parlaiment wee had more occasion to observe than ordinary, considering the sins and dangers of the nations: that those in authority might bee directed and owned in soe difficult a province, the lord did signally help before and on that day. After an exercise in Hilton-lane, where the good presence of god was acknowledged with that great word concerning conscience, as I was passing on towards Chester, I was seized on with a darkness and damp upon my spirits at Rothstorn in respect to some affaires at home which I had left unsettled so that I returned back. Our business at the Sessions wanted that solemn cõ-ending to god and the dryness of the season became a judgment with other occasions private and publique. After a day kept on these accounts that very week the lord answered us as to the main occasion of this last day of prayer; our business was putt off till the next Sessions, the lord gave plentifull showers, yea, there was a change of Counsellors and Counsells at Court; this was matter and gave occasion for a solemn day of thanksgiving when I returned from Chester.

My retireing in the 3rd m. [1679] was chiefly upon account of those attempts the Prelate made for hooking us in among the papists and the attempt others made for our indulgence. Some mournings and wrestlings in that case. I felt more than ordinary of the love and power of Christ in my soul upon all occasions on lord's dayes and week-days, but it seemed it was to arm mee against the sad tydings of this Parlaiments prorogation.[1] Upon the first report of some in Scotland taking up armes I had doubts of the regularity of the fact and fears as to the issue of it, though they might be excused in part considering their provocations, yet they could not bee altogether justifyed, soon after wee heard of their dispsion and the killing of many of them, upon which the adversary was likely to take occasion to insult and ꝑsecute.

[1] 26th May, 1679.

My retireing in the 5th m. [1679] was very sudden, part of the day being already spent otherwise, yet externall circumstances concurring and publique providences calling aloud I fell upon the work though something abruptly. The spirituall occasion was the great havock made in Scotland which I am to bewayl and beseech the lord about. That very evening I had notice of the indulgence granted to the dissenters in Scotland, not long after wee had an opportunity to bless god for that mercy to them solemnly, also for any peace to ourselves and for a seasonable hopefull harvest. Though wee were unworthily returned in to the Exchequer among the papists contrary to the order of the Sessions, yet the lord wrought a way for our escape, partly through the dissatisfaction of those above as to the valuation of our estates which made them send us down again, partly through the favour which wee had by means of some friends, and partly through the conviction of the justices that the thing was unjust; but above all wee had to acknowledge the good hand of god in answer to solemn prayers particularly as to my case, for I slipt through their fingers in their second return I can scarce tell how. One of our solemn dayes was to seek the lord as to that breach in the Church in Bradford-dale that I might (with the rest of my Reverend Brethren concerned with mee in that work) bee cōmended to the grace of god that there might bee a healing if possible.

The hand of god was much seen in the election of knights for the county, though friends were negligent and too secure in that weighty business.[1]

My retireing in the 7th m. [1679] was especially in reference to my own spiritual condition, in reading Cotton on the Covenant was greatly convinced through those passages of his concerning a washen swine and a goat-like professor. How was I beholden to the lord for restoring my soul, more also of a blessing upon my poor labours in that circuit beyond Bolton and in Manchester which I took shortly after. In the 9th m. [1679] my eldest son

[1] This refers to the second Election in 1689.

did on the lords day covenant among his people and was taken into full cōmunion with us, hee could not satisfy his conscience without such a confession of his sins and profession of god's dealing with him on the church did not require in order to their satisfaction, wee not requiring so particular an account from the children of church-members who have not fallen into scandall as wee doe from others. Wee had fresh occasion to keep the 5th of this 9th m. in remembrance and thankfull acknowledment of mercyes nationall, congregationall, and domesticall, that as the lord was a god hearing our prayers soe hee might inhabitt our praises.

My retireing in the 10th m. [1679] was to bemoan myself and Sion, my neighbours and the nations.

About this time wee were called before the Justices at their privy Sessions to give an account of our absence from the publique worship, and warrants were issued forth to distrain upon my goods for monthly absence from the publique service; the officers managed the business with much tenderness and trembling, yea, my goods could not bee sold, and soe were sent home again after a while. I found it hard to digest that dispensation of this Parlaiments prorogation also, the temptations of the times did beat sore upon my spirit. Our very slender meetings, especially in some places, made the burden heavyer upon mee, especially after the toyl of my body in travelling far, but my liberty in Craven was ordinarily a refreshment to my spirit as well as theirs.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1679] was under the sens of the pressing necessityes of publique affairs and private also. Though wee could not spend 30th of the m. [1679] in the way and manner others did, yet could wee not follow our calling to the offence of others, but wee spent it together in prayer and fasting.

Satan was very busy either to draw my servants to sin or to lay scandall upon them that my family and profession might bee scandalized, but the lord helped mee in some measure to doe my duty whatever should bee the issue, I had not been soe thankfull

for the lords mercy to mee in my servants all along as I should bee, all of them (I hope) either coming gracious into my family or going gracious out untill of late yeares. In the 11th m. [1679] died that old disciple brother Lawson,[1] one of the deacons of this church whom the lord kept faithfull to the end through much temptation and infirmity. I had some speciall encouragment in the grace and gifts of Mr. Elston[2] and Mr. Issot[3] for the work of the ministry, as to Mr. E., the grace of god was the more wonderfull in him considering his education, and accordingly hee held forth the grace of god more abundantly in his ministry. On a very cold day in the sayd month there was great thunder and lightning, in Bashaw-eves,[4] a hous and barn joyning together were severed by the thunder-bolt, the wife of the hous was soe struck with it that she dyed about 10 dayes after, the children struck blind, and a catt in the hous disfigured by it like a lump of clay continuing alive.

The death of Sr Ralph Ashton[5] of Whalley, a worthy member of the long Parlaiment and of the last Parl. about this time was a great loss to the countrey and affliction to mee.

> Here lyes his countrey's freind and popery's foe
> Who therfore all deny'd and dyed soe.

James Read being under much trouble of mind in his last sickness could not die in peace till hee was reconciled to the

[1] Heywood's *Register of Burials* gives the year only (1679), and describes Richard Lawson as an "old disciple" who "had been an active useful man in his day."

[2] Thomas Elston, minister at Topcliffe Chapel, 1684–1709; afterwards at Chesterfield.

[3] J. Issot became Mr. Frankland's assistant as preacher at Natland, and Tutor. He was ordained 8th July, 1678.

[4] Near Whalley. O. Heywood records this storm as taking place 4th February, 1679–80, and adds that the "woman spake profane words of the roaring thunder, suddenly lightening seized on them, burnt part of the house, struck her and two others of the family dumb, one dead since, and the others remain sad objects."

[5] Eldest son of Sir Ralph Assheton of Whalley. He was M.P. for Clitheroe and Liverpool. He died in London, and was buried at Downham near Whalley, 3rd March, 1679.

church and restored to cōunion, having been cast out and continued long excōunicate for some scandalous practices.

In the 1st m. [1680] I found the word Jer. 8, 22, more than ordinary on my spirit, the issue whereof was that it was in my heart once more to attempt the healing of the diffrences and distances among dissenters, according in a journey into Yorkshire there was a foundation laid by some pastors for a meeting to that purpose.

My retireing in this 1 m. was not only for the settling of my own and my children's spirituall state and church state, but their particular callings, the one being inclined and designed for medicine and the other for the ministry, the lord had ꝑswaded my younger son also to own the lord's covenant among a people at London, and there were some motions on foot for his coming to the church at Sheffield. The lord directing and disposing my two sons to take the cours they did in not conforming to the way of the times but to the way of the gospell must needs bee a mercy to mee that would counterbalance many of my afflictions, and the rather considering their two cousins complying soe scandalously as they did, and being both cutt off soe soon after, though they had the advantage of good education if they had not too much example for a partiall conformity. It was moved by some friends at London that all the people of god in the nation would spend some time in the morning of every second day in the week to send up joynt-cryes to heaven on behalf of the publique. I hope that motion was of god for I found some speciall help in pursuance of it. I might also see a speciall hand of god towards mee in Mr. Gales (see *infra*) legacy to mee of £5 when I had lost my best cow through the ignorance or inconsideratness of instruments.

In the 3rd m. [1680] that precious soul sister Isabell Waddington departed, whom the lord had guided and helped by his word and spirit through extraordinary troubles in an extraordinary manner. Shee dyed hopefully and comfortably.

In the 3rd m. [1680] wee had a meeting near Woodkirk,[1] of ministers and some select brethren for 3 dayes together in order to the accomodation and association of churches. The differences in the church at Topcliff (which wee had occasion to take notice of) had soe leavend the spirit of some that they mett noe more with us upon this account, which did much lame our progress. My younger son being called to Sheffeild, I went thither and found cause to acknowledg the speciall providence of god in bringing him among such a sober people in such a well affected place, to such a numerous congregation though he was very young, yet had I encouragment in him both as to grace and gifts for soe great a work. I thought the interest of the gospell was upon the gaining hand in the generall, by all the dispensations wee had yet been under, the act of uniformity drawing us more out or driving us from them, the act against meetings trying us and how the lord owned such meetings, the act for banishment gaining us more acquaintance and spreading the gospell further : the burning of the citty rendring the papists more odious and making the meetings more publique : the plot discovering the high prælatists and making the sober conformists more inclinable towards the dissenters.

My retireing the 5th m. [1680] was upon sens of the prevalence of worldly lusts and the languishing of heavenly love. The next meeting for healing was nigh Wakefeild for 3 dayes together, one of the ministers was prevented by the temptation aforesayd and other two of them did alledg the extremity of the weather for their absence, yet was there a good presence of god. Brother Dr. Whittaker being in a dying condition but litle in a dying posture the lord wrought in mee a sens of his case and wrestling for how above ordinary, the lord heard prayers speedely, hee gave a notable testimony for the wayes and servants of Christ in the face of death, then the lord rebuked his distemper and restored him to health.

[1] Woodchurch, West Riding, Yorks.

My retireing the 7th m. [1680] was not soe much in reference to my own condition but to comend the business of our healing now in our hands unto god. I thought I was neglected by my freinds in Craven (after all my paines among them) concerning the choosing and calling of their pastor, this raised some damp upon our comunion there that it was not soe comfortable on lord's day and week-day exercises as formerly. An account of our sufferings these 20 years being desired by some freinds at London, wee therfore gave some brief account thereof, though it seems the worthy pson concerned in the publishing thereof thought it meet to conceal some more memorable passages about them.

My retireing in the 8th m. [1680] was becaus I found myself left alone as to the great work of the day, my brethren whom I had most confidence in deserting and discouraging mee; I was called away before I had spent all the time I intended, I had somthing upon my heart that day to say to a worthy member of Parlaiment whom I went that evening to take leav of which counsell hee then approved of and if it had been followed I may humbly and modestly say I hope things had not been soe bad as they have been since. My litle business of repairing and raising up a litle building was some exercise for mee, yet had I expience of the grace of god about it. On that day the Parlaiment was to meet wee mett also to seek the lord solemnly as to the publique; it was a good day though wee had much excercise with the untowardness of an offending brother as to his giving satisfaction. Though I had much of divine peace and power in all my journeyes and opportunityes about this time ordinarily yet not alwayes, for at Padiham I found otherwise, either becaus these temporall things had too much gott within mee or the scandalls there might caus that change. I had also much excercise upon occasion of the unhappy difference betwixt the two houses of Parl. concerning the bill of exclusion and the check putt upon their proceedings thereby.

My retireing the 10th m. [1680] was that I might through

the grace of god in christ make good my spirit in my generall and particular calling.

At the funerall of cousin Barlow's[1] child I feared one of the publique preachers (as I somtimes heard some of them upon such occassions) I further found caus to quæstion whether many of them bee the ministers of christ and his gospell, they holding forth soe litle of christ or his gospell. Oh! that I may pitty not only them, but their hearers. In this 10th m. appeared that prodigious Comett the tayl whereof was like the blade of a double edged sword, and reached almost from the horizon to the zenith.

Wee mett in obedience to authority to bewayl the great sins and dangers of these nations, and to beg for those in authority as to the great affaires in agitation

My retireing in the 11th m. [1680] was upon account of that sentence of death upon the hopefull proceedings of the parlaiment by the prorogation thereof. My main occasion to Sheffeild at that time was upon that peoples desire to consult with mee (after solemn looking of god) as to their choice of a pastor, the result whereof was that they signifyed their desire to have my son sett apart to the ministry and their desire to choose him for their pastor; the latter was beyond my thoughts at present, and yet I durst not oppose it.

At the meeting of the ministers in the sayd month many matters were discussed, but I thought there appeared too much weakness in one of my reverend brethren insisting upon popular ordination to the ministry, and in another too rigidly judging such popular ordination to bee voyd. The unhappy dissolution of our assembly was attended with the unhappy dissolution of the Oxford parlaiment.[2] Wee had a more solemn day, more

[1] O. Heywood notes that "Mr. Barlow's son died" 6th December, 1680. John Barlow lived in Manchester. Mr. Heywood several times preached in his house. Under 17th May, 1686, he writes: "News from Manchester of the dangerous sickness of Mr. Jo. Barlow; a good man and useful, and my good friend. I believe he was dead by the time I heard of his sickness."

[2] This parliament met at Oxford, March, 1680–1, and was dissolved in a few days.

especially on behalf of my son designed to the work of the ministry and to undertake a pastorall charge.

In the latter end of the 2nd m. [1681] my son Timothy was sett apart to the Ministry by severall ministers called to the work by the church at Sheffield, who had not teaching offices of their own, and afterwards hee was chosen to bee their pastor.

A dolefull dispensation upon Madam Dimock,[1] who was sadly dissappointed in her most unæquall match as to age and in measure in the world too, which was too much looked at, yea her light was taken away and hopes of issue also: her mother's partiall respect to her and leaving her place, were sorely rebuked herein yet (I hope) both of the Ladyes are truely good. Wee were much putt to it concerning the great drought, and I had some spirituall encouragment that the lord would hear us as to both upon the following Sabbath as my heart was ꝑwaded, and I had hinted to some in the morning, that very day the lord refreshed the earth with rain.

My retireing in the 3rd m. [1681] was cheifly upon the spirituall and corporall drought and barrenness which again returned upon us and further threatned us. Wee had a more solemn day upon the same occasion in the beginning of the 4th m. [1681] this drought was very sore upon us and very strange to us in these parts, contrary to the usuall signs of and shews for rain. I the rather begged god's appearance then, that the change of the weather might not bee ascribed to the change of the moon as it is usually; the morning after it pleased god to visit the earth and water it, when it was soe parched as had not been known. I felt much help on drawing up these particulars in order to the healing of our breaches that (at least) I might leav them upon record for succeeding generations. My first sermon was on this subject, and I was willing (if the lord so pleased) it might bee my last service, for I had then some

[1] Oliver Heywood in his *Diary*, 12th October, 1680, refers to "poor Madame Dimmock's eyes," and also (June3rd) writes that "her affliction is much to be pitied."

jealousyes how it might goe with mee by reason of some bodily distempers I then laboured under, and desired to leav this testimony behind mee. A very unhansom business fell out about this time concerning Mr. K. his marriage, wherein hee beurayed much weakness to the scandall of religion, hee was pleased very humbly to confess his failing to mee, whereupon some select psons were called to comend that difficult case to god and consider about it, the lord was pleased to assist and advize in it.

My retireing the 5th m. [1681] was especially upon occasion of the imprisoning of severall patriotts of the protestant and publique interest, that the evill threatned might bee prevented, or they prepared, that the lord jesus would interpose in heaven and on earth too, for them. The ordinance of catechizing was revived among the children, and I found some speciall encouragment in these frequent opportunityes. The young psons did also sett on foot their meetings to keep dayes of prayer together.

In visiting the desolate distracted church at Topcliff[1] I was helped something more than ordinary to pitty and pray for them, yea, had some evidence before my return that the lord was reviving his work among them.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1681] was upon account of the strength of corruption and weakness of grace that yet sin should bee soe strong in mee

The lord having shewed mercy to my younger son in giving him a gracious yokefellow and brought them over to us, wee took occasion solemnly to bless god together. My retireing in the 8th m. [1681] was upon the occasion of my own pressing and too much prevailing temptations, the growing iniquityes and threatning calamityes of the times, the pill of some patriotts at home, and the suffering of protestants abroad.

In the 10th m. [1681] wee had one day more solemn than

[1] From 1681 to 1684 Topcliffe had no regular Minister, but was supplied by Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Jollie, and other ejected Ministers. (See *The Registers of Topcliffe and Morley.*)

ordinary on account of the churches in France and Scotland under grevious psecutions, also upon account of the churches in this nation in soe great hazard. The lord was gracious in preserving the liberty of the London Ministers and delivering the Earl of Shaftsbury[1] soe that wee took occasion to bless god for these things. My retireing in the latter end of the 10th m. [1681] was for the further cleering of my spirituall state. In that circuit towards Manchester and Chester at this time I was more sensible of the lord's setting forth with mee for my assistance, my protection among the many opportunityes I had and the much expience of god withall, I took more speciall notice that of god which appeared both in preaching and prayer at the place of my nativity where I had occasion to express my affections and give directions to my naturall relations. In my return I was delivered from great danger of the waters and detained in an alehous among a deal of rude company who yet suffered mee to admonish them and pray with them, I then heard of one in Gorton whom the lord had touched and (I hope) turned to himself by a word formerly spoken.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1681] was upon account of the heavy sufferings of the people of god at home and abroad. In the 2nd m. [1682] when I took my Yorkshire journey (having been solemnly comended to the grace of god) I found the lord's peculiar presence after a long journey and much excercise, yet had I much expience in spirit and in body at my return. Captain Nowell came by the very door where the meeting was when wee were together, yet the lord hid us, but otherwayes I had my affliction at this time in the miscarrage of in one professing family and a servant in another which was matter of mourning as to them and of thanksgiving as to my family, yea of warning for the future. The lord was pleased to renew strength for new work towards Manchester again where I had a word of comfort as to god's taking our part. Some good success of all for conviction and comfort in particular as to that day in the 3rd m.

[1] Refers to his release from custody, concerning the Monmouth disturbance.

[1682] on behalf of Brother Sellar's two youngest daughters under much inward trouble. Now our solemn prayers were directed on Elder Robert Waddington's[1] behalf who was designed to bee sett apart for the ministry of the word, many of the ministers and brethren failing to come at the time appointed it was noe small exercise for mee. One night about this time I had such a dream as I could not but take much notice of, I was led along through a dark Alley into a most sumptuous temple where I was unconceivably ravished in spirit, and was raised to sing part of the 25 psalm, 5, 6 in a tune unexpressibly melodious and in an exceeding high note soe that I seemed to have a taste of the angelicall excercise and cælestiall state above, when I awake and was refreshed a while with the thoughts thereof I slept again and dreamed of my telling severall others of it to their great refreshment.

My retireing in the 3rd m. [1682] in general was upon account of the sinfull condition of the times, and on account of the danger of London losing its charter for its favour to dissenters, also on behalf of my seacond son in danger as to liberty in his calling, and my daughter-in-law as to life in her condition.

In the 4th m. [1682] was the setting apart of Brother Waddington to the work of the gospell by prayer and fasting, with the imposition of the hands of severall teaching Elders of other churches, called in to make up with mee a teaching presbytery for that purpose.

As one was called into the vinyard another is called out of it, for soon after I had the dolefull tydings of my brother John's death, who was taken with a dead palsy at the close of a private day, and dyed in the evening of the day following. Hee was an industrious active servant of jesus Christ, who was in good measure kept from the pollution of the times and was faithfull unto death; hee was found by his lord upon his watch and at

[1] Appointed an Elder in 1675, he was afterwards ordained and was at Tockholes 1700–1715; he was a son of John Waddington of Whalley. O. Heywood gives an account of his ordination, April 1682.

his work, hee was much lamented, and solemnly interred at Oldham (where hee dyed) on the 19th of the 4th m. [1682].

My retireing in the 5th m. [1682] was not only as to my own and others failings and transgressions, but as to a journey to London for advice and assistance in some matters of publique concernment for our healing, to prevent the evill which hangs over our heads or prepare us for it. An opportunity at Walton for prayer had been not long before now opportunity of prais at Hoghton, with acceptance and hopes of a gracious answer.

My occasions as to more frequent opportunityes drawing mee often towards Bolton and Manchester than otherwayes, Satan layd a dangerous snare for mee at one place where I lodged, and the lord seemed to try mee as to my speciall temptation, yet did hee help mercifully then as at other times in like manner.

When the time of taking my London journey was come, it pleased god to take up the weather in answer to prayer. The good hand of god was on mee all along in securing and strengthning mee as to soul and body, as to company and convers, as to weather and way, as to man and beast, yet had I mine infermityes and temptations in every respect, somtimes lighting in vain and profane company. I found the power of the lord wonderfully brideling and bringing them in, especially as to one most despate damning wretch who followed us into the inn at Stony Stratford. I had many opportunityes at London in severall places, there was also a good providence of god about mee, I but narrowly escaping the soldiers somtimes, but my main business was to consult with several of greatest note in the ministry. It was a speciall providence that I there mett with a letter from N. E. [New England]. Mr. Mather (see *supra*) about the case of ordination, which gave mee advantage in my debate with some who did somthing oppose, but soon yeilded, yet none was soe cordially concerned in it as Dr. Owen, who with some agony of spirit told mee what adoe he had to gett any such matters forward which were of great importance for the publique interest, then I might well think there was litle of

poor I doing anything to purpose. Several having pused our Essay for repentance and reformation, accomodation and association of evangelicall reforming churches, they desired a coppy of it, and promised to give mee their joynt thought about it. My converse at London gave mee some advantage to make some alteration for the better in my draught thereof, but there were soe few of a publique-healing spirit, and London's troubles came on soe fast that my papers were layd aside, and the design also, some indeed elswhere in Old and New England and of Scotland too I found of another spirit and were much effected with the Essay and much pressed the reviving of it.

A Sheffeild I found the lord's kindness not only in my sons liberty but my daughters deliverance; after some time spent at Sheffeild I was brought home in safety and found all well in my family.

As to the Society upon the Sabbath before my return, Capt. Nowell took some of them together, the minister being detained by some providence was not come to the place of meeting, yet would Cap[t] N[owell] and Justice Townly have them convicted and the fines levyed, but see how the lord works; those two they layd the 20*l.* upon for the hows' poverty, the one of them happend to bee a tabler,[1] and soe there was nothing to levy upon; the other was a gentleman's steward, and soe they could not distinguish his goods from his masters; thus finding themselves dissappointed in their design, they appointed another meeting of the Justices to doe their business throughly, but before that day came the lord cutt off Justice Townly,[2] and soe the trouble dyed with him. But the troubles in Craven (which was upon information for a meeting) was brought by appeal to their Sessions where they had prevailed, if they had not attempted to pjure the witnesses for missing the day which would not bee born soe that all went against them there through the exceeding violence of one of the Justices, and the charge one way and another to them was above an 100*l.*, yet did the lord doe

[1] Tabler = a lodger. [2] Richard Townley of Barnside in Whalley.

justice upon the informers though men would not, for they were both shortly reduced to great misery and forced to flee out of the country. I had much expience of the grace of god and kindness of freinds in begging for that small Society of young disciples in Craven. The grace of god in those who gave to this pious use was as refreshing as their gift they bestowed, one blaming them who excused themselves in such begging by saying they will come noe more, another saying hee had layd an 100*l.* by him for some needfull building but was resolved to hereupon convert it to pious uses, another sayd that Christians in distress have a propriety in what wee can spare, another saying hee accounted it a favour to bee moved to give, others giving all they had about them freely, others giving unasked.

My retireing in the 8th m. [1682] was upon finding myself either run down with the violence of temptation or enveigled with the snare thereof, and the fearing it may bee the case of others ; there was great need too on behalf of the church.

The most pretious pson and dearest freind may been an excercise for a time, for brother elder Minister Waddington was estranged more from mee about this time, and had a mind to decline his office in this church, but upon our dealing with him about hee soon came to himself.

My retireing in the 10th m. [1682] was not only upon account of my own sensible failings and declinings, but others also, and the woefull tendency that things were in at that day.

In a journey to Tockholes, Wigan, Billinge, and Toxtheath-park [Toxteth Park], I had but one opportunity to preach, yet there was a good presence of god all along helping mee in some measure, also in Craven I had work not only to help them in outwards but spiritualls, there being not only some weakness in their late affairs, but wantingness in some fundamentalls and essentialls of their cōunion.

Wee had a more full assembly of the church than ordinary to know how wee stood in relation each to other, and what posture wee were in for those extremityes which threatned us. The

next newes is the tydings of my sons goods being seized for the £20 penalty upon account of his preaching, and of his sending to York for refusing the bond of the good behaviour, which bond in his circumstances hee thought it better for him to refuse. I would humbly bless god that I have a son not only a professor and preacher, but a confessor of the truth and way of the gospell, that hee and his true yoke-fellow were helped to carry it soe christianly and comfortably, that they are soe blessed as to bear the yoke and cross of christ in their youth.

I could not but take notice of that dream which I had, I did dream that I was at Manchester where at the high-cross there was a vast assembly of people, and one as a cryer did with much power admonish us of our sins and god's judgments : when hee came to speak of discovenanting of us there was a great cry of the people which was severall times renewed by us, who were his hearers, soe that the cryer could not proceed.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1682] was not only on my own behalf but the church's also, and upon account of my elder son's journey to London for his licensing by the Colledg, and my younger son's imprisonment for the gospell. The meeting of ministers on the week following was but slender.

In the 1st m. 1683, I found a peculiar presence of god with mee in all my Yorkshire journey and in every opportunity, yea, in York itself in the very time of the assizes. I had much liberty, and had great occasion to acknowledg god's goodness to my son there.

An awfull providence happend in the 2nd m. to one Laurence Heap given to psecuting and drinking, who in his drunkeness fell from his hors and was found dead in a ditch.

My retireing in the 2nd m. [1683] was becaus of my corruptions and temptations getting head again. What corner soever wee were thrust into at home or abroad, yet were wee not thrust out of god's presence, yea, in more publique meetings wee were preserved even in the mouth of danger, particularly near Harden in Cheshire.

At an excercise at Taxtheath-park [Toxteth] chapell[1] the lord found out one who had been wandring which hee did solemnly and sensibly acknowledg: but I was much sadded with my brother's compliance to cōunicate with them in the publique way contrary to his former profession and practice. Yet did the lord support my spirit and strengthen my body through all my travells and excercises in that journey (preached 10 times in 12 dayes), besides other occasions which might bee as toylsom if not so usefull.

My retireing the 4th m. [1683] was specially upon account of the lowness of grace, strength of corruption, and height of temptation: also the taking away of the citty's charter, the imprisonment of brother Sagar,[2] and the renewing of the psecution against the rest of us.

There was a speciall providence of god in calling away all the justices upon severall occasions when wee should have appeared before them at their privy-Sessions; that day wee mett for prayer and fasting, not only upon some private occasions, but especially as to the publique distress upon pretence of a protestant plott, the great provocations to all, the extravagant expressions of too many, and the irregular practices of any may cost some their lives and all others dear enough.

The lord was also solemnly sought upon the occasion of my going to assist the church at Topcliff in setting apart another elder and 2 deacons, though wee failed by other churches through the heat of the psecution, yet the lord was pleased to help in a speciall manner, and protected mee in my travells in that time of danger. Whilst I was toward Manchester and all

[1] Dingle chapel, or the chapel of Toxteth Park (near Liverpool), was probably built early in the seventeenth century. It was as a house belonging to Lord Molyneux that it was licensed on the Declaration of Indulgence in 1671–2. In 1683 Thomas Crompton was its minister.

[2] Rev. Charles Sagar, was son of John Sagar of Burnley, where he was born in 1636; he was of St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1672 he was licensed as a Presbyterian; in 1686–7 he was at Walmsley, whence he removed to Darwen, where he died in 1697.

thereabouts I was much helped through many difficultyes and delivered out of many dangers, though my hous was searched and I threatned in my absence.

The apparant dangers wee were in of disturbance in day-meeting (on Sabbath especially) and of our danger of being deprived of our priviledges, wholly made us meet in the evening and in the night-time mostly according to the example of the primitive christians, yet the lord refused not night comers his night meeters.

Being solemnly recomended to god I took my journey to visitt my son in close prison at York upon the five mile act and to visitt my freinds all about in Yorkshire, wee had a considerable meeting, a comfortable opportunity in the prison itself, in the citty an object of pitty and prayers was then presented to mee, viz., one reduced to a great exegent by psecution from the Pralats Court, that hee must either temporize and truckle to them or give up his rich shop and full trade, or surrender up himself to ppetual imprisonment and pay a large sume of money besides. The want of consideration before hand and his weakness in grace made the temptation to work almost to distraction, yet did the lord counsell and comfort, succour, and save him in that distress according to prayers. In that journey, the former thoughts of the church at Topcliff did ripen to a solemn motion for the translation of mee to them, as thinking I might bee of more use there, and that there might bee competent provision otherwayes for the church here, I durst not countenance nor quash the proposall, not yet knowing what of god might bee in it.

Though the way was long and the work much in that journey, yet the lord did strengthen and save mee graciously; at one place where I lodged in my return I was sett upon by severall at once concerning the late pretended protestant plott. I had ther to plead for myself and (I hope) for most of my brethren, that wee make concience of any rising soe much as in our hearts, or of evill speaking much more of actuall rebelling against

authority: I had this to plead against the conformists themselves in this case, that the most of those concerned in this business, as they say, were conformists and yet I durst not judg them for all that, but must in part excuse them considering their temptations; I had this also to plead against the cōmon adversary that they had given this bad example of plotting, as all acknowledged when they had noe such provocations, and their exemption from punishment might too much encourage such practices, they thus setting all on wheels to carry out their design.

That black day on the 24th of 6th m. [1683] was not forgotten, though 21 yeares agoe; wee did therfore take occasion then to humble our soules and seek the lord together in remembrance of that sad stroke not yet revoked.

My retireing in the latter end of the 6th m. [1683] was not only as to my infirmityes and temptations which were too hard for mee, but that great and doubtfull case of my translation to another people. In that circuit toward Kendall at this time the later opportunity I had there happend to bee on that day appointed for thanksgiving upon account of the late untoward unhappy business at London, concerning which wee were willing to goe along with autority soe far as wee could (besides the occasion and observation of it, as it was the lord's day), and I took occasion also to admonish professors as to some things in that case. I had my opportunityes at Kellett or Bolton and at Lancaster as usually at other times, but I was especially melted with the condition and refreshed with the carriage of Brother Sagar, a prisoner of the lord at Lancaster (see p. 53). I was indeed in this journey haunted with my infirmityes and dogged with my temptations, yea, excercised with the selfish sordid carriage of some others. A good opportunity at Brother Sagar's hous on his behalf in my return, neither was the lord awanting in his assistance nor providence in all those occasions, after that about Manchester, Ratchdale, Holcomb, though I had soe litle encouragment in otherwayes.

Wee had much occasion and took an opportunity for solemn

thanksgiving upon account of the signall answer of solemn prayers as to the season of the year, and the lord's securing to us thus far particularly as to his good providence, somwhat strangely putting by the prosecution of us the two last sessions.

My retireing in the 8th m. [1683] was as to myself and family, the church in generall, and this church in particular. Through much difficulty and infirmity I was called for the healing and helping of that small Society in Craven.

There was a remarkable hand of god in the later end of the 7th m. [1683] upon one Holt, an instrument of Major Nowell's, in ꝑsecuting of us, hee being a very profane drinking man, in one of his drunken fitts (as I remember on the lord's day) hee fell down a few steps and was slain with the fall.

In one opportunity nigh Hilton lane wee had some disturbance by some appearance of danger which did somthing ruffle our spiritts, and yet wee lost not all by it, els in all that circuit in Lancashire and Cheshire about that time, I was graciously strengthned and secured against any appearance or apprehension of danger. I had occasion about this time to deal with one of my reverend brethren concerning his preaching people to the publique, an offence to some, and a temptation to many, hee took it well and promised to bee more cautious for the future; not long after I had occasion to deal with another of them, very dear to mee, also as to his joyning in the publique way, to the offence of many; I found not the offence to bee such as was reported, but partly to bee excused. The aforesaid proposall of the people of Topcliff had been solemnly cōmended to God by his church in a day of prayer, even the thoughts of removing from this poor people and place of ꝑsecution also went very greivous to mee, yet I let the business goe on as far as it could for the tryall of them, and the cleering of my way before I discovered my inclination and gave way to the return of an answer in the negative, but the danger of god's name suffering by my removall hence, the unwillingness of the few faithfull soules left to part with mee, their dispair as to keeping together if I left them,

and their desolate condition upon that account did cast the scales as to stay, I hope the overture did noe harm but some good.[1]

My lodging in an inn in Bradford, and there hearing more profanness of some guests than I had heard in a whole year before, it served to provoke zeal to god and pitty to soules. At my return I heard of Mrs. Nowell's death and Major Nowell's illness as to health, which gave mee occasion to discover more pitty in my heart towards him, and to send up more prayers to god for him.

One lord's day in the later end of the 10th m. [1683] as I was returning home on foot through the length of the way I was putt beyond my strength, and through the slipperiness of the way I gott a fall backward which shook mee sore ; imediately after a great weakness seized on my head and sight which encreased upon mee and continued about a fortnight, in so much that I feared I should wholly lose my sight and bee layd aside as to my work, yet I went on with my work in my study and preaching, through much sickness and pain ; at last it went off in some measure with a great defluxion of rheum, its like my cold lodgings abroad and the blow on my head by the fall might empair my sight soe suddenly, but there was another caus in the generall for the weakning of my sight, for I seldom excercised solemnly (as I remember) for above 30 yeares together but I wett two hand-kercheifs at once as if they had been in the washing.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1683] was upon occasion of decays of body and spirit, yet corruptions and temptations being too strong.

In this month after family duty in the morning, when I opened the door into my chamber I found the rushes on the floor in a flame and the room as black as night with smoak, if I left the door open the fire brake out the more, if I stayd in

[1] In 1683 there appears not to have been a minister at Topcliffe, but service was performed by Mr. Holdsworth, Mr. Jollie, and others.

the room to attempt quenching of it, it was suffocating, soe that there seemed to bee noe hope of saving the hous from being consumed to ashes, only our care was to save soe much of the goods as we could ; in this distress I was lifting up my soul to god that hee would pleas to pitty for his names sake which is soe called upon us, and called upon in this place, god did somthing help my spirit by the rememberance of Job's affliction in being turned out of all, in this danger the lord stirred up and strengthned a poor profane neighbour (who happend then to bee at home) to adventure his life first in fetching out some desks and a trunk, which were of most concernment, then to carry in water and cast it abroad when none els could endure in the room. The fire had seized on my books and bed ; yea, the water was spent and the snow was made use of before wee prevailed over the fire considerably (though wee had much assistance from the neighbourhood), then it pleased the lord to appear in the mount and the fire was quenched, that it did not much harm ; this awfull comfortable providence could not but caus much distraction of mind and disorder of things in the hous, indeed, most of the goods being hurryed out of it, yet were all things brought that order again that wee had the Sabbath meeting and speciall ordinanccs under my roof the day after as was before designed. Wee shortly after met under my roof also to return thanks solemnly for the restoring of my sight in some measure, and for the rescueing of my habitation from the late threatned desolation; the lord was pleased to cast in two other signall mercyes to help on the work of this day, wee were delivered from the despate design of a pjured pson who swore against us for a meeting, but could gett noe body to seacond him and soe the justice of peace let it fall ; the lord did also mercifully change the season of the weather after the long frost, frustrating the tokens of the liars and fulfilling the word of his servants according to Isai., 44, 25, 26, it was a good day. There was also about this time a solemn opportunity to render praise to god for brother Sagers deliverance, his imprisonment, yea, for the caus thereof and his carriage therein. (See p. 53.)

When I had been labouring in my circuit about Manchester, at my return I found that my servant and cattell escaped very narrowly, the end of the barn where they were imediately falling flatt to the ground after they were come out of it, had they not come forth when they did they had all been slain in all liklihood.

Whilst I was labouring in the 12th m. [1683] at home and abroad under the sens of the want of sens of that burden of reproach which the solemn assembly lyes under for the want of sorrow for it, I had notice by a freind that the gospell had then almost quite left London, and yet scarce any teares at all shed for it.

In the 1st m. 1684, dyed Mr. Yates[1] of Blackburn, after the change of the times and the coming on of troubles, hee was scarce ever at rest from giving and taking offence untill hee had wrestled himself out of our comunion and sate down a while somtimes in a comunion where hee might bee more at liberty; when he was dismissed from us, hee had litle to doe with us nor wee with him, by degrees hee fell in with them in the publique way, and fell off into loosness of conversation; hee was charged not only with irregularity in worship but imorality in walking, and wee had reason to suspect there was caus for that charge. I was taking occasion to speak to him in his health, as I had opportunity, but hee was still digressing to other discours, and in his last lingring letthargick sickness I was resolved I would not bee putt off, but would know how it was with him as to his spirituall state, his answer was that his sins were soe many and soe great that hee feared hee never truely repented of them. I afterwards did write to him somthing more particularly and plainly with which he was somwhat affected.

My retireing in the 2nd m. [1684] was on behalf of the state of my own soul and the church of god, also on behalf of the late changes providence had made in my family. There was some

[1] Though described as of Blackburn, this is probably the Samuel Yates who in 1678–9 was minister at Warrington. His Will was proved at Chester in 1683–4. He was the son of the Rev. Robert Yates of Warrington.

apparent danger as to life or of being lamed at least one day to one of my servants by the fall of a great stone in the barn, which did but miss her, and the next day to another of my servants who did not altogether escape harm.

A brother and sister of this Society having given offence to each other and to the church, it being also made publique (through their own folly) to those without to the scandall of religion, the church (after 5 or 6 yeares striving with them to bring them into frame to give suitable satisfaction, and to carry as becomes the gospell, yet failing in their expectation after all other meanes used) were necessitated to conclude upon casting them out of communion in order to the vindication of relligion, the cleering of the church, and the healing of the offenders ; but when the sentence came to bee passed at the meeting, some of the brethren, without any reason for it, discovered themselves dissatisfyed in the church's proceeding to that censure, soe that the passing of the sentence was again suspended to my greatt discouragment, soe that I was bound to bear my testimony against such a carriage of matters in the church, which wrought this effect that the dissatisfyed brethren did soon after move to have the sentence published.

In the 3rd m. [1684] (as I take it) dyed Mr. Henry Bannister,[1] the 4th and last brother of the hous of Altham, all being cutt off in the midst of their dayes, being their own excecutioners by their intempate lives, and putting judgment upon themselves by their spirit of psecution ; this last brother seemed the worst of them in some respects, in that hee had prætended to better and was in orders, yea, I doubt hee was the most debauched every way and his death was as his life was.

In my circuit towards Manchester, Chester, Liverpool, I had many opportunityes and manifold expiences of god's peculiar presence and providence, my journey was begun with a day of

[1] Henry, son of Richard Banastre of Altham and Mary his wife, daughter of John Byrom of Byrom, died 12th May, 1684. He left a son Nicholas, who was the last male heir. Henry Banastre was the Lord of the Manor of Altham.

thanksgiving on behalf of Elder Haworths family, severall of his children being wrought on and brought in. I had also matter of rejoycing upon account of cousin Barlow's [1] holy cheerfullness and boldness under and after considerable suffering, but I had matter of mourning as to the carriage and condition of another freind not far from Manchester.

My retireing in the 4th m. [1684] was not only upon account of my own old infirmity and temptation, but the naturall and old age infirmityes of my dear mother.

When the providence of god or the party's infirmity reduced us to the number allowed in the Act, I took it to bee my way to condescend and the lord did not refuse us, nor reject our offring in Dean Ingham case, which seemed to bee past all hope of help in man, the lord heard solemn prayers and healed him by the hand even of a Papist.

In my Yorkshire circuit at this time I took severall of my brethren in my way who were under temptation and affliction; the heat of the weather and danger of the time was also more than ordinary. The lord did about this time honour his name in the signall recovery of severall brethren who were in apparant danger of death, all came in by the way of solemn prayer.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1684] was upon the occasion of a litle poor thought which came into my mind the evening before. Presently after this by break of day in the morning my hous was besett by the Constable and such ayd as hee brought with him by order of the L' cheif Justice, to bring mee before him at Preston, upon information that I was one who kept frequent Conventicles at my hous. The thing appeared worse that it proved, but I was helped to acquiesce in the lord's will, and by the apprehension of my appearance before a greater judg many scriptures were brought in, and my spirit was soe fortifyed that his reviling language (when I came before him) and his severest threathnings did not fasten upon mee, though I apprehended what proved to bee the issue, yet I brought not suretyes before

[1] James Barlow of Manchester is mentioned in O. Heywood's *Diary*.

him, but my mittimus was made for the sending of me to Lancashire for want of suretyes present upon the place, and if Justice Holden[1] had not been made use of before hee knew anything of those severe instructions which were given by the judg to Justice Braddyll[2] concerning my bond, I had gone to prison for want of such bondsmen as I was not likely to gett, becaus the sum must bee soe great as I could not give them counter-security which would be necessary in my case; I resolving still (through the grace of god) to goe on with my work, and being discovered, it might probably be interpreted by some to bee a breach of my bond of the good behaviour, thus the lord wrought some deliverance, gave liberty a while from a strait imprisonment, though it was through the dishonour of such a bond as if I were a cōmon disturber of the peace, and through the danger of a forfeiture of £200 (judg Jeffryes would have had £2000). I had run the hazard of many hundreds of pounds, and I thought I should hazard this also for the greater advantage and others good, though I might fear and must prepare for wors, yea, for the worst men can doe when I come into their hands. The brethren gott together and wrestled with god, which was not in vain, for though one justice would not help mee if hee could a seacond durst not if he would, a third justice did it in the very juncture of time. Though I was bound, the word of the lord was not, nor was I (through his grace) bound up from my duty in my present capacity, I did therfore take this occasion to goe my Kendall circuit where my labours in preaching were more than ordinary, and I would have been of use for the binding up of that broken Society; at Kellett I had more encouragment, and in Lancaster I felt I wanted not work nor excercise. At my return I mett with the report of Mr. Braddyll's rage against mee for my seeming to slight him about my bond, or rather (I doubt) for the dissappointment of my imprisonment; this made mee that night turn aside to Blackburn and soe to Tockholes, where

[1] Probably Robert Holden of Holden Hall, Haslingden.
[2] Braddyll of Portfield, Whalley.

I was not without work. After all my travell on foot and toyl, I gott at last to the church meeting in the dead of the night, being mightily strengthned in spirit and body day and night.

In the 7th m. [1684] wee had a night meeting (the brethren had gott together before in my absence) to return solemn thanks to god for this my deliverance and for restoring of 4 of the church (as 4 pillars therein) from the pill of death, and for our mercy in that harvest, it was a blessed opportunity; there was at this time a brother of the church at Walmsley who was strangely struck with the thunder, soe that hee seemed to be dead and yet was wonderfully recovered. Sometimes opportunity was enjoyed where I never had any before, sometimes thrust into an uninhabited cottage with a small number, sometimes intermitting the Sabbath meeting becaus of the dark of the moon and difficulty of the time. Oh how tædious was it to spend a Sabbath without an holy convocation, it made mee think whether dying for my work bee not better than dying by not doing of it.

My retireing in the beginning of the 8th m. [1684] was that this dispensation of some deliverance with much difficulty and danger might be sanctifyed and blessed to mee.

About this time a near neighbour dyed who had been much given to scoulding and cursing, shee gott such a strein and swelling in one of her scoulding fitts that shee dyed of it in a week's time or thereabouts.

I could not but wonder at the providence of god in preventing drouziness and weariness in our night-meetings though wee travell soe far and watch soe long, especially when the time for preparation and speciall ordinances are both in one night.

I had before proposed and now fell upon the practice of visiting particular familyes (that I might see how it is with every one in particular and speak particular to them) when the church meeting on the Sabbath is intermitted, finding the apostles practice in teaching from hous to hous, and wee being soe much reduced to that case when our lord gave them instructions how

to carry, if a particular family did only receiv them in his name. After a lords-day visitt of one family I went on the week-day to visitt brother Sager's family, where I was cast upon an opportunity of prayer and fasting for that family unexpectedly, though wee were but two to carry on the work of the day, yet the lord did help us graciously, for about that very time the quartan ague left brother Sager and the tertian ague left his son.

The lord finds mee work though I bee confined to my hous, and satan finds mee work by temptation there, some of my neighbours prove pricks in my eyes, and the publique concerns press mee sore. The prosecution of mee upon the 35th of Eliz. being the probable issue of my present troubles and the penalty thereof being abjuration or death, it putt mee to again goe over that old lesson of Christ's cross. In my circuit towards Manchester and Chester at this time I was for some time excercised in preaching every night in severall places, and somtimes in im̄inent danger on the lord's day in the day-time, but within the number, the familyes staying with mee rather than going to the publique. When I came to Staplford[1] I found it a hous of mourning for the death of that worthy p̄son my cordiall freind Mr. Bruen[2] and the family breaking up. I was much concerned for that elect Lady, now a desolate widow, and for the heir of the family, that relligion might not lose ground in that family, which had been soe famous upon that account. At Chester I had a sudden occasion, viz., my only brother's falling from conformity to the worship in the way of the times, and from com̄union with the men of the times in speciall ordinances to compliance with them in conversation even in some of their grossest practices and in the odious cæremonyes thereof. I had also matter of mourning in the distemps and disorders of another which I am nearly related unto. I had caus to bee thankfull if it was not as ill with mee. My brother was mercifully recovered.

[1] Near Trent.

[2] Oliver Heywood records: "October 29th (1684), I heard of the death of Mr. Bruen of Stableford."

There was a righteous hand of god upon 3 most debauched psons in Chester, who would have abused the works of some eminent nonconformists and my sister-in-law there for their sakes, the abuse was in enquiring for their books to . . .[1]

My retireing in the 10th m. [1684] was on account of my originall and actuall iniquity and impotency, how easily captivated, how quickly defiled with any temptation. Oh! the sin of my nature, of my pro-parents and of my first parents! that it should bee but thus after all these ordinances and opportunityes, corrections and comforts, after all this time and at this age. Also as to my family that the ark is driven thence and that I am a prisoner in my own hous, when I am there. The case of this Society and that of Walmsley.

The providence of god (about this time) did appear in watching and working about mee to prevent the design of an ill neighbour to inform against mee to an incensed justice who that morning was called away to the funerall of his brother at London, where hee is detained. Seeing I might not appear openly among my neighbours lest I should give advantage to mine adversaryes against mee and soe I wanted opportunity to admonish them for their æternall good, I therfore took occasion to write a large letter to them to that purpose, it found acceptance with them. In this month I was one night called by the officers of the church at Walmsly to advize and assist them upon a very sad occasion, viz., severall scandalous offences which their teacher is fallen under.

The day before Mr. Rosewell's[2] (a London minister) tryall I did providentially hear that hee was to bee tryed for his life, the

[1] The rest of this sentence is too coarse to print, but it contains a reference to one of the parties having taken "golden bullets" as a medicine. This remedy was prescribed by Dr. Gerhard, several people died from the effects of their swallowing these bullets which were actually made of solid gold. (See *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, part i. p. 81.)

[2] This trial took place 18th November, 1684, the accusation against him was treason in a sermon preached 14th September in the same year.

day after an opportunity happening upon our first hearing of it my heart was much drawn out at that and other times on his behalf; the issue was (though the jury brought him in guilty) the King was pleased to pardon him, being hee was only convicted on the testimony of two women and many of his hearers did testify to the contrary.

Dangers threatning from the fals accusation of a poor woman in her passion and wanting an opportunity for a church-meeting, I sett apart a day in the beginning of the 11th m. [1684] for prayer and fasting in my family, calling in the assistance of the next family to us. The answer of the prayers of the day aforsayd did hereupon soon appear, for the lord did soe awe the spirit of my accuser when shee came before autority that shee durst not stand to what shee before had sayd and promised to swear.

Presently after when wee had enjoyed all the ordinances together (oh blessed night!) at our return home about two o'clock in the morning wee found a mare of mine soe wounded by some hand that shee had almost bled to death and was lamed thereby. One tryall treads on the heels of another, for shortly after I had the tydings of a dangerous distemp seizing upon my seacond son through a surfett of cold in his wandring condition, but the lord was entreated on his behalf; this called for a solemn acknowledgment and also the wonderfull recovery of Deacon Ingham who had layd under the sentence of death in the opinion of all. The hand of god was remarkable upon three severall psons about this time, one a scoffer at relligion who by his intempate life was monstrously fed and dyed suddenly; another, a notorious apostate and a psecutor of brother Sager, though intemperance did not feed him att all yet hee was very intempate in his drinking and was struck dead imediatly upon his coming into his hous; a third was very intempate also and brought a strange diseas upon himself thereby, but hee was not of a psecuting spirit (that I heard of) and died with great remorse, this was a Curate, hee told some of his former companions that if they saw what hee then saw in his last sickness they would leav that cours of life,

and hee twice charged the parson of the place, that hee should in his funerall sermon shame him before all the congregation.

My retireing in the later end of the 11th m. [1684] was that sin might bee more cast out and kept out that I might have further supplyes of the spirit, also on behalf of god's name and caus in the church generall and this with other churches in particular, especially that at Topcliff who were choosing a pastor, also my family and relations, freinds and foes, the untowardness of an ill neighbour as to delivering possession of a poor cottage was of speciall spirituall use to mee. At Sheffeild I had tydings of the lamentable and to bee lamented death of the King, yet does our King Jesus live and reign for ever; what ever hee bee who succeeds, let mee learn to pitty the pson and honour the power whilst I hate the sin. I durst not longer defer my solemn acknowledgment of the severall signall mercyes I had received in the later end of this year also, I did therfore in the later end of the 12th m. [1684] call two or three of the neighbouring brethren to help in that work under my roof, the church not thinking it convenient to meet there in the day time, the lord had signally rebuked the judg who would have imprisoned mee by the death of his only son, and rebuked the justice also who bestirred himself against mee, by the death of his brother, and dashed her who would have accused mee, also removing her (with her husband) at a distance from mee. The severall opportunityes for severall nights together which I had in my circuit towards Bolton and Manchester gave mee to expience in my self as to express to others, the further meaning of cōunion with and conformity to Christ in his death and resurrection, but the dolefull and difficult occasion of Mr. K's[1] scandal which gave mee two opportunityes among his people for preaching and conference about this time was most excercise to my spirit and body. The occasion of the Supper-ordinance among my own people at my return was blessed was comfortable.

[1] Mr. Kaye or Key was minister at Walmsley at this time; he was ordained in 1671, and was a member of Mr. Jolly's Society (see p. 69).

Most of a night was spent by the church in prayer not only as to my own case, being bound to appear at the Assizes, but the case of many others in wors condition, that fetters might fall off and prison doors fly open, yet that traytors and murderers might not escape; also it was on behalf of the new elections for the next parlaiment.

My retireing in the 1st m. $168\frac{4}{5}$ was to pour out my soul upon account of my own and others condition. When I appeared at the Assizes there was nothing alledged against mee, and soe I should have been discharged from my recognizances of cours according to law, but upon Mr. Braddyll's motion my recognizances were renewed, yet had I this favour through Baron Atkins (then judg) his moderation, that my single bond in £100 was accepted, soe I was ꝑsecuted for god's law and oppressed contrary to man's law.

In the beginning of the 2nd m. 1685 wee met to bless god solemnly for thus much mercy that I had outward liberty from imprisonment and inward liberty still, notwithstanding my bond, for I had frequent opportunityes to my work not only at home but abroad, viz., at Liverpool, Chester, and in my return, yet was the excercise I had otherwayes from relations and freinds more greivous to mee; would to god I could altogether excercise my own weakness giving or taking too much occasion. I am sure among the church of Walmsly I found much need of compassion as to them and caution as to myself. Somtimes wee adventured in the day time on the week day for a peice of the day, but mostly well in the night, yet was the lord gracious in taking us near to him, and in drawing near to us. It was a rebuke that my only grandson, called after my name, should bee soe soon taken away after the lord had given him to us, yet was it a mercy that my daughter was spared and that the child was first solemnly given up to god, and the covenant sealed in baptism. The providence of god about this time was observable also in making up my losses concerning my last Assize business by a legacy left to mee by Alderman Ashurst.

The next meeting which I had with the church of Walmsly about Mr. K's business (see p. 67) was very discouraging and almost despate through the change of his carriage from that self judging frame which hee had been in formerly, and through the hardening which hee had by the too much countenance that some of his people gave to him; a great storm among that people raised by the unbecoming behaviour of him, their teacher, which threatned them with shipwrack, I then feared that nothing could still the storm and save that people, but the casting of that Jonah overboard.

After above half a year's forbearance wee obtained a church meeting under my roof on behalf of the publique ꝑill and for preparation to a more solemn occasion there becaus my aged mother could not stirr abroad but that opportunity and the speciall ordinance were prevented at that time, there being a speciall design against us that night and ꝑsons being discovered in coming to the meeting, yet the providence of god soe over-ruled that the party sent to watch us, though a very bad man, discovered his design to those whom hee discovered as coming towards us.

My retireing ime̅diately thereupon in the 3rd m. [1685] was on this occasion lest sin and Satan had gotten some advantage against mee, seeing our first attempt to bring back the ark into my hous did meet with such a rebuke: but the main occasion of my retirement was the great distress wee are in, and the great dangers our all is in also, in respect to him who hath gott the power into his hands, and the sort of men hee hath convened, further occasion as to the church at Walmsly. Yea, wee were admitted into the lord's presence in every ordinance the Sabbath after, and secured amidst apparant danger, that night I was putt to watch and work all night, which did something distemper my body; but on that circuit towards Bolton and Manchester which I took thereupon, I had all the rest of my opportunityes in the day-time, with daily working I was scarce able to ride in my return, yet was I helpt to watch and work two nights together,

the one amongst the Darwyn people and the other amongst my own.

In the 4th m. [1685] wee had a solemn opportunity upon occasion of the cōmotion in the West of England and Ireland, also as to the case of the church at Walmsly. Wee had the Sabbath night in peace under my roof; in those two days together at Bank-hey for humiliation and thanskgiving and at Blackburn for thanksgiving and prayers the lord did much help. A night in the same week was spent in the word and prayer in conference and censure, then passed upon Mr. K. (see p. 67), such was his offence, and soe aggravated soe litle penitance in him, and the crime soe publiquly known that noe way els could bee pitched on, as satisfactory but solemnly suspending of him from his office relation to that people by withdrawing their consent and by casting him out of their cōmunion for a time.

On the 28th of the 4th month [1685] being the lord's day, about noon came 4 troops to my hous to search for armes as they sayd but (I suppose) rather to seize upon mee, yet they missing their way, a neighbour gave mee notice of their coming and I withdrew, when they failed to their purpose they seized and took away with them my hors and my son's also with a freind's hors who happend to lodg with us the night before. The week after I retired to Craven where as I with severall others were coming from the meeting betwixt 2 and 3 on Lord's day morning, the watch happend (upon another occasion [1]) too bee within a stones cast of us and yet discovered us not though it was a fair day; the week after I was one day detained from visitting my family, and that day came 8 troops to my hous to search for mee, the day after I came to my hous not knowing of what had happend the day before. Then also I had notice of Col. Nowell's declining the service of securing mee upon conviction and confession of mine innocency and integrity; some of his servants overhearing him gave my family notice of this further design of securing mee.

[1] The meaning of this is not quite clear, possibly it should read "*as* upon, &c."

My retireing in the 5th m. [1685] (though in another family) was becaus I intended to have spent that day amongst my own people from whom I was driven, and further occasion falling in to drive mee to it, the trouble and danger encreasing by reason of the business of Monmouth and Argyle. I had great excercise through the various reports of the western comotion, yea, when the tydings came that Monmouth's army was disped and hee taken, oh! how good it is to stay upon the rock of ages and not on broken reeds of Egypt. Though I was putt to travell far on foot and banished from home for a time, yet the lord ordered it well for mee. At my return home, though I was through grace in a pretty good composure of spirit, I did one evening feel the great force of 3 temptations together, the first to despondency making way for a seacond which did almost distract mee, but the third did defile mee, even leading mee away captive and comitting a rape upon mee.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1685] was upon the darkness of the dispensation both as to publique and private concerns of myself and freinds. Some attemp was made among the desolate distressed Society at Walmsly for the directing of their work in truth.

New occasion of scandall in some with our own suffering condition otherwayes made us spend another night.

I must own it as a singular mercy that my adversary (who did soe seek occasion against mee) had nothing against mee at the assizes, and that I had liberty again upon my own bond, but it proved a temptation to mee that my adversary should thus oppress mee in judgment contrary to their own law and putt mee to all this charge. As I was overtaken with temptations in the way home to stirr up my spirit too much against him and to discourage mee with my condition, soe I was mett with another sort of temptation at home, but I could bee very thankfull for my particular mercyes and for the generall mercy in the seasonable weather in answer to prayers. I see farther that carnall policyes prosper not in the hands of saints, nor doth it

well that gospell ministers doe meddle soe much in state affairs; had all ministers moved more vigorously in their prop sphære, and all professors in their station pursued more spirituall designs by spirituall means, matters had not come to this pass.

In the 4th of the 7th m. [1685] my worthy dear brother (in the ministry) Mr. Michael Briscoe[1] departed out of this life; it was a heavy blow and a sad breach, not only upon mee but upon all these parts and on all the church of god especially at this time, his abilities and interests being soe considerable. The solemn occasion of renewing covenant among the church of Walmsly was deferred, the time spent in conference and prayer for their better preparation. It was not long after the most considerable part of that people did solemnly renew their covenant, the lord was pleased to help graciously in that affair, and it was brought to some good issue. Wee took about this time occasion to spend much of a night in thanksgiving for the signall answer of prayer in a month's seasonable weather, and for continuing our gospell mercy in any measure for any deliverance spirituall and outward as to the temptations and troubles of these times, which I had in speciall, particularly to my assize business, and which this people did partake of in com̄on.

Thus I am continued unto and entred upon the 56th year of my age (being born on the 14th of the 7th m. 1629), also the 36 year of my ministry in this countrey.

My retireing in the 8th m. [1685] was upon occasion of my own family and temptation, my private petty troubles (in comparison) with the greivous sufferings of Saints, yea, of others who are yet (I doubt) strangers to god, though suffering with his people; also upon account of the sad condition of the church at Walmsly.

In my circuit by Manchester, Chester, and Liverpool, I had many opportunityes and was not only helped through bodily

[1] The Rev. Michael Briscoe went from Walmsley to Toxteth Park, Liverpool, where he died.

infirmity, but preserved through outward danger, though wee did meet not only in the night but in the day.

Though our worthyes did not moderate their counsells and cours as to the bill of exclusion as I thought they should have done after the late king did shew himself soe resolved in the case, soe not have run themselves into this snare without any advantage to relligion and their countrey, but have consulted and pursued other matters both laudable and feasible, leaving that matter with the providence of god.

Alderman Cornish's dying soe Christianly and comfortably [1] was very observable and usefull to mee, this account concerning it wee had from a very good hand who was nigh to him when hee was executed, who sayth hee never saw and thought hee never heard of a man dying more comfortably; that hee went triumphant to heaven, that hee made nothing of death, that if hee had not seen it (hee sayth) hee could not have beleived it; it was the more observable that hee had been one of the Sheriffs of London, dying in a very plentifull estate, was seized upon the Exchange, confessed hee was not fitt to dy before hee came to Newgate, denyed that fact hee dyed for, was drawn, hanged, and quartered before his own door in face of Guild Hall, there was a speciall sign that same day in a dreadfull storm, which terrifyed man and beast, severall others about the same time dyed in like manner at London. Some here dyed not soe honourably and hopefully; one a late officer in this church dyed about this time, his punishment in that part (viz., his mouth) and the tædious time hee had under that diseas must needs bee taken notice of as a righteous rebuke for the sin of his lipps and the neglect of the dutyes of his relation, yet I hope the lord did convince him of his

[1] Henry Cornish was probably a grandson of George Cornish of London, haberdasher, who registered a pedigree at the Visitation of 1634. He was Sheriff of London in 1681, and being concerned in the Rye House Plot he was, on 13th October, 1685, arrested, charged with high treason, and on the 23rd of the same month was hanged, drawn and quartered opposite his own house at the end of King Street, Cheapside. Mr. Jolly's idea of dying "comfortably" is peculiar. (See Harrison's *History of London.*)

sin. The oppression I had by the taking away of our horses without caus or order, the detaining and disposing of them by Major Nowell as his own, his using and abusing of them at his pleasure, my getting noe redress from those in power, who would neither doe mee right nor hear reason, but rather upbrayding and threatning mee, all this with the damage I sustained through the want of them was some excercise to my spirit and body, yet after nigh five months detaining of our horses providence made things to concur, and they were restored at last. About the later end of the 9th m. [1685] I was seized with an aguish feavourish indisposition of body which (I suppose) was contracted by unseasonable travells and labours, but through the blessing of god and the use of means my foul stomach cleansed, yet I was forced to keep my chamber for a month.

Wee had severall opportunityes in this time on Lord's dayes and week-dayes, by day and by night upon sundry occasions, one solemnly to bless god for his goodness, and hee was pleased to cast in that great mercy to the family of my seacon son, soon after hee was very providentially sent over to us much helpt and mercifully kept among us. My first journey after my bodily infirmity was by Bolton to Manchester, in which I was graciously preserved notwithstanding the severity of the weather and danger of the times ; I was also graciously assisted notwithstanding the many opportunityes and the little outward encouragment I had in most places. Prayer was made solemnly and generally, yea, incessantly for the Ld. Delamere and other worthyes whose lives were industriously sought after and were in most apparant hazard.

My retireing in the 11m. [1685] was more especially as to my temptation, also as to my elder son's case, viz., a motion for marriage. One night soon after wee mett solemnly to return thanks for severall signall returns of prayer and to seek the lord further as to my son's business. Concerning my son's business I had a gracious answer of prayer though the business was not accomplished, and I was much satisfyed with my son's self

denyall for the gospell's sake, when hee had a considerable temptation layd before him by her relations to draw him that way hee sayd hee had rather lose her than lose himself among such temptations as were likely to surround him there, besides the loss of his priviledges here, when the business was brought to a head ; shee brake all in peices on a sudden, alledging that shee could not gett over the temptations in her way when shee came to it, and altogether excused my son, taking all the blame and shame upon her self. Had her dissatisfaction as to our way and condition broken out afterward, or had shee proved sickly and short-lived (which we somthing feared) it might have turned to great trouble and temptation, it is noe litle mercy that my son proves not a Demas, yet its some affliction to see her soe much of Orpah in her and to meet with a dissappointment. Sometimes (but seldom) an opportunity for prayer in the day-time, and sometimes a more full resort to hear the word, but more ordinary my people are even worn out, some of them creeping to the meeting on crutches, yet doth the lord help mee in night travells and labours, though the stock of naturall spiritts and strength is far spent. That night at my hous on behalf of the suffering name and people of god, the sad case of the church of Walmsly, and the solemn occasion of the sup ordinance amongst them, also on account of my appearance at the Assizes and other occasions, was clagged with much infirmity, I apprehended speciall assistance amongst that people, viz., those who cleav together in all the ordinances though, I doubt they are not affected and afflicted with the case of their former teacher and of their dissenting brethren. The week after wee spent much of a night in seeking the lord as to publique concerns and private also, particularly as to my own case at the Assizes, hearing that the judges who come this circuit are very severe upon dissenters. Severall prodigges appeared about this time or not long since, as of armyes, shipps, castles, severall suns and a star appearing about midday. The lord was very good to us upon the lord's day evening following, also at Hoghton upon the Sabbath following.

My retireing in the middle of this month was for the renewing of my faith and repentance; that I might be filled for the tryall and fixed against the temptation before mee at mine appearance at the Assizes, that the grace of Christ may there appear towards mee and for mee, in mee and by mee. The very day after my retirement I providentially opened to that text Ps. 85, 8, and pused Dr. Goodwin's treatise upon it, entytled tydings of peace, imediatly I had tydings of the King's pardon (which was likely to be of advantage for my enlargment from my bonds, though I had not occasion to take hold of any pardon from him) my great remaining fear was lest I should fall into the snares of Sin and Satan, my great sorrow was that soe many are excepted and that there were soe many exceptions in the proclamation; my great desire was that I might well improve this further enlargment, my great pitty was for mine adversaryes who had not only putt mee to all this trouble and charge but did not at all (that I pceived) relent in order to my releaf, and yet one of them sayd to mee that I must bee discharged, thanking noe body for it; another adversary (who was cheif in the business against mee) had a shrewd rebuke by severall indictments brought against him, through the injustice of one under him, himself needing the King's pardon more than I, which, together with his dissappointment in his design concerning mee might make him look soe blank when hee came into the court imediatly after I was discharged. I had much liberty on that Sabbath in the time of the Assizes and at Kendall, both in the week and on the Sabbath following, god going along and meeting mee everywhere, strengthning and supplying mee every way, yea also I found all well at home, blessed bee god, then was this 1685th year concluded with this signall instance of peculiar providence.

In the week of my return wee spent most of a night in solemn thanksgiving for signall mercyes, the malice of some neighbours, the rage of the justice, and the violence of the judgment probably have prevailed to the shutting of mee in prison or the silencing of mee as to preaching or the spoyling of mee as to

outwards, but the lord prevented their design, and the issue proved for further liberty to mee than I had before. The speciall providence of the Scotch parlaiment standing up against popery was cast in to help on our thanksgiving. In all the solemn opportunityes I had about Manchester I can say god was good to mee, and I hope others also did share of the blessing. In my return by Bolton god was good to mee not only in preaching and praying work but in directing as to the case of the church at Walmsly. The liberty on the Sabbath at my hous in the day time for all the ordinances without disturbance or discovery was a singular favour.

The lesser journey to Rippon (merely upon account of the orphan to whom I am the one guardian) had its distractions, I being out of my usual road. My greater journey to London could not have been taken with such satisfaction merely upon the orphan's account, times being so dangerous and my mother being soe weak, but that I did apprehend that there was some prospect of more spirituall and publique good, the opportunity on the first lord's day (after my setting forth from home) was a good hansell, soe were the two opportunityes at Manchester, soe at Mount-sorrell[1] where wee kept the next Sabbath, yet had each of our company some check upon the road; at Cambridge wee found some good effects of bad times in the more strict discipline of the governours there and the more sober conversation of the schollars. At London wee might more plainly ꝑceiv how the lord is bringing forth the righteousness of the Long Parlament's caus by the late practices of those in power, and pleading our caus against our conforming brethren for their being soe severe upon us; the supremacy they soe sett up against us being turned against themselves, yet would wee pitty and pray for them. Gen. 42, 21. It seems also that the lord is working a great change upon the spiritts of men in generall by the present management of affaires ecclesiasticall, civill and

[1] Mount Sorrell, in Leicestershire.

military, that they may the more abominate popery and tyranny, also that they may bee better inclined to the purity of the gospell and the just liberty thereof. I had many opportunityes, much work whilst I stayd at London, the lord hiding and helping through all. In my return by Sheffeild I spent one Sabbath there and had much encouragment not only through some assistance I found but the great liberty and good success my son hath there, especially amongst the young ones, but on the other day after wee were called to mourn with a family not far off both on account of a sad breach made by the taking away of the head of that family (a very worthy gentleman), and in remembrance of the heavy blow wee had on the 24th of the 6th m. 24 yeares agoe; I was brought home in safety and found things there better than I left them.

At Padiham the neighbourhood flocking to the meeting though in the night, I was not only much helped in spirit but preserved in body also, considering how wett I was with sweat and must ride soe far in the same night.

My retireing in the 7th m. [1686] was upon account of my own old corruption which Satan is pressing with new temptation and renewed violence. The day before being my birthday was of use to mee for stirring mee up to bewayl my birth-sin; the day following proving (without my forethought) to bee the first day of my being at Altham, I was helped on that occasion on to remember how I had carryed since. I had more than ordinary tryall through the extream badness of the weather and way (yea, other wayes) as I went at this time to the meeting with the church of Walmsly, it was an extraordinary gloomy rainy day, yet did the lord keep mee from any considerable harm.

At Manchester I mett with the sad tydings of my brother Martindale's death,[1] the loss of soe faithfull a brother must needs bee greivous to mee and the rather becaus his day was not soe cleer in the evening thereof as might bee desired, hee dyed in

[1] Buried at Rotherston, 21st September, 1686. (See *Life of Adam Martindale*, Chetham Society, vol. iv.)

the close of his great climactericall year (63), which is accounted most dangerous, and I doubt hee had too deep apprehensions thereof.

Thus I have finished the 56th year of my age and the 36th of my ministry, Halelujah!

One who had complyed with Mr. K. in his folly and too much concealed it, which hath been attended with such bad consequences, shee must now confess the more fully than formerly, and such was her anguish of spirit thereupon that shee was tempted and attempted severall wayes to destroy herself. I was (with others) much concerned for her, and dayes of prayer (with fasting) were kept on her behalf, this its brought to already that shee is now troubled for her adding this sin of self murther (in mind and endeavour) to all the rest. Somtimes much left in preparation and yet helped in the ꝑformance, somtimes litle company, somtimes crowded, somtimes meeting more openly, and somtimes more privately (where there were many soldiers and much ꝑsecution), somtimes receiving a return of prayers on the very day of prayers, and somtimes putt to sow in hope only, soe it was with mee in all that circuit beyond Manchester, in Cheshire, at Chester, and Liverpool.

The 5th of the 9th m.[1] [1686] was spent partly in prais for the anceent occasion of that day and the many deliverances we had expienced to that day.

On the 9th of this 9th m. my eldest son was marryed after the thing had been solemnly cōmended to god, it was his own choice and my consent, I had soe far left him to himself that I would not bee the wors to him though hee did bring noe portion provided that hee took care as to the main matters; I had good ground to hope that god had a good hand in the business. I was much concerned for my daughter when I was called from home and shee must bee left destitute on the Sabbath, which I knew would bee very strange to her.

[1] Refers of course to the Gunpowder Plot.

My retireing towards the later end of the sayd month was upon occasion of my great infirmity in doing my work and resisting temptation, also for preparation to a solemn occasion in Darwyn.

I mett with some disappointment on Darwyn-side, and soe diverted my discours more especially to the comon sort of hearers, yet was there a speciall providence for some had their hearts touched thereby. I accounted it a speciall mercy that my new Craven relations are not a temptation to mee in point of conformity, but that I find comfort in them as they are comformable to christ, and yet that I am kept from complyance with them in their conformablness to the way of the times.

There is a great nois about the church of England, methinks it is very improp to call England a church, especially considering wee are under the gospell administration, but if wee must call the protestant professing people therein a church, methinks the reforming nonconforming party who proceed upon the bottom of the solemn Covenant are most truely the church of England, the doctrin of the 39 articles and the definittion of a church there considered. Whilst the lord leads mee unto occasions secular with those which are spirituall, yet hee keeps and helps in all, as I found in a journey to Manchester about this time mostly upon account of my sister Dean now a widdow. On a lord's day at the beginning of the 11th m. [1686] at my hous wee had notice that our adversary was informed of our meeting, and was stirred up to make a prize of us, yet wee went on and it proved that hee would not stirr. The lord begun about this time to find out work for mee in Mitton, though our beginning there was in the night season. In Darwyn they grew more bold, yet did I not goe in to the chappell as some did, for I feared invading of another's right; the thing had not been solemnly comended to god nor had I consulted my Brethren in that case, nevertheless wee had a full comfortable meeting. About this time one Esquire Langford dyed, concerning whom it is observable that hee had of late been a most bitter enemy to the non-conformists, and yet

at his later end would suffer none but them to bee nigh to him and pray with him, disowning conformists who had been most dear to him and giving a great testimony for the non-conformists.

Liberty growing upon us wee must needs cast our mite into the Church's treasury, by solemn looking to god with our Brethren that it may be sanctifyed and blessed. The society which my mother stood in relation to being dissolved shee desired to join with us as a fixed member; in her case wee condescended to her weakness that shee did own the covenant before the officers only, the brethren having declared themselves satisfyed therewith, yet did it trouble mee afterward that wee were noe more solemn in soe great a work. A signall providence in answer to prayers for the recovery of one from a very dangerous hurt which shee had by a fall backwards from her hors as shee was returning from a meeting upon Chadsly Moor.[1]

My retireing towards the later end of the 12th m. [1686] was intended a week sooner, but that I found not the lord framing my spirit to the work, this day of humbling my soul and seeking the lord was cheifly upon a publique account. I was encouraged to the work by a passage I had from my aged mother concerning a good man, who laboured in the ministry without success, but upon keeping of secret dayes in an old tree (through want of other conveniency) afterwards had considerable expience that way.

What good dayes on the week-day especially upon the Lord's-day which now begun to look like itself! yea after my soul hath cleaved to the dust, my spiritts and strength quite spent, yet how doth the lord revive and renew mee, but alass! I am yoked with a body of death and temptation withall, soe that I am kept from extravagancy under my liberty and mercy. I have unexpressible caus to bee humble and need to bee watchfull remembering how much way I gave to mine iniquity in my youthfull dayes, and what infirmity I now labour under upon that account, it

[1] Cadeley Moor, near Preston.

must also bee acknowledged that I have as much occasion to bee thankfull to the free grace and peculiar providence of god that I was not then nor since left to gross acts of uncleanness.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1687 was not only to renew former acts of repentance and faith of self denyall and self resignation, but to putt forth further acts thereof. Soon after the king's most gracious declaration for Liberty came forth which was even according to our desires and above our expectations in a rationall way, all the circumstances being considered, some men's designs in it, time will discover, god will defeat. I had occasion not long after to spend a Lord's day at Hoghton in that very room where the book of sports[1] upon the Lord's day was granted many years before, the sayd room being demolished in the warrs and now re-ædifyed by that worthy knight, yea, first season'd by this excercise.

At Chester I found a great change, that where I might not before appear at all, now I had the opportunity to preach openly to a congregation of severall hundreds, soe also in all my journey.

On the 12 of the 3rd m. 1687 wee mett solemnly to bless god for the signall mercy of our present liberty, which is soe seasonable in our great distress, soe strange as to the way of it, soe free from any clogg, and soe full to our satisfaction, that wee must needs acknowledge it to the lord with the great sincerity of soul and solemnity of thanksgiving; hee was pleased (as hee used to doe) to cast in the mercy of the weather and my daughter's deliverance to help on the duty of the day, I have large share of this mercy and should have a suitable sens thereof upon severall accounts, though my worldly advantage was litle before and is likely to bee less now, but the lord grant a blessed seeding and reaping for the spirituall and æternall good of many soules. The want of meanes and the willingness of people to hear made mee goe into blind corners and travell 4 miles betwixt

[1] James I., in 1617, stayed three days at Hoghton. The first "Book of Sports" was published 24th May, 1618; the second, with the approval of Charles II., in October, 1633.

the excercises upon the Lord's day for sometime, though the lord helped as too body and spirit, yet I was sometimes more left to myself to humble and mortify mee. That Sheffeild was full of difficulty both as to weather and work, providence ordering an opportunity for mee the very day I came thither, 12 miles off was another opportunity upon the day following, and I was putt to preach twice upon the next Lord's day at Sheffeild. A long journey through great rain to serv the people of Walmsley but litle success, noe encouragement unless in mine own sincerity.

The orphan cōmitted to my charge and cast under my roof, I was much concerned for, the lord was pleased (one morning as I travelld to the meeting) to putt it into my mind to cōmend him solemnly to god, in a day sett apart for that purpose, and I had much satisfaction in soe doing, especially as the issue proved. Upon the 20th of 4th m. [1687] there was very great thunder and lightning at Elswick-chappell in the ffeild-countrey,[1] it was very terrible, there was then in the chappell a great meeting of non-conformists to whom it did noe harm, but it fell upon the hous of a bitter enemy hard by who himself was lamed by it and one slain by it outright who was by him detained from the meeting that afternoon, there was another in the same hous was also slain by it outright who probably was jangling[2] away the Sabbath. I could not think well of it that soe few solemn dayes of thanksgiving for the publique liberty were sett apart by those who yet readily embraced it, indeed wee had one day at a poor widow's hous 3 miles from Bolton, but my reverend Brother who should have assisted then failed, yet the lord helped more than ordinary.

Upon the following Sabbath at home in the close of the fore-noon excercise, and in the afternoon excercise 4 miles off, I was

[1] This storm is fully described in Leigh's *Natural History of Lancashire and Cheshire*, p. 7, but he does not mention the meeting in the chapel, but states that it took place on a Sunday.

[2] Jangle = to rove idly about.

taken with a sore griping at my stomach and great weakness in my breast, yet must I travell to the meeting of ministers at Kighley upon the day following.

Upon the 12th of 5th m. [1687] the orphan to whom I was Guardian dyed under my roof; though it was an affliction to mee and to my family that hee should bee under such greivous distemp and dy there, yet was I comforted concerning it that I had (in some measure) walked in mine integrity and that providence had cast him there in such signall manner. Thus was this hopefull branch of that worthy family cropped and all their remnant cutt off, yet is their memory blessed. I was by this providence prevented of going to Lancaster, as was intended. At home on that Sabbath wee found some motions of the good spirit among us more than ordinary, soe that severall had much adoe to contain themselves from crying out in the congregation. I was also at this time much refreshed with the certainty of Scotland's liberty as it is with us, also that withall the King had given such testimony of his sincerity in giving liberty especially in their circumstances, they having soe exaspated autority and the meetings being wholly suppressed, there being also a party who are yet very ungovernable. Even the day of rest to mee is a day of more toyl and travell being putt to travell 4 or 5 miles betwixt the forenoon and afternoon excercises, but besides that sore ruffled in my spirit yea something visited by mine old temptation though I bee soe old and my body soe much brought down with labour.

In the 6th m. [1687] Brother Sagar was solemnly sett apart to the ministry with the churches consent, and at a church-meeting by 3 preaching ministers joyning with mee two of them being called in for our assistance by virtue of comunion of churches. I was much refreshed by the labours of two of my reverend Brethren at Lancaster as I returned from Kendall, in both places I had been labouring publiquly and privatly.

My retiring in the 6th m. [1687] was with respect to my generall and particular calling, my private and publique con-

dition, also as to meeting of his Majesty at Chester[1] psonally to testify our gratitude to him for his indulgence, as before wee had done by our address. When wee mett at Chester to present ourselves to his Majesty upon Rowton-heath I had some excercise from my freinds at home neglecting this occasion, and from the untowardness of some of my brethren in the ministry who came thither, yet was there a considerable appearance and his Majesty took it not only kindly but thankfully. I had intelligence also by a favourite what peculiar respect his Majesty hath for dissenters, who are of sober spiritts and stick to their principles; he took occasion when severall addresses were presented to him to say that hee would not deal with us as hee had been dealt with, but would do his part to secure our liberty, if wee were not wanting on our part. That excercise at Bashaw was become with speciall encouragement as to the lord's presence.

About this time my daughter Sarah had a very sore temptation which even sunk her, soe that the spirit of god seem'd utterly to leav her, yet my son and shee going to pray together, shee was wonderfully revived all of a sudden.

Thus have I finished the 58th year of my age and the 28th year of my ministry in this country. For the present I was putt to prepare the threshing floor (as Araunah's was) to bee a place for publique worship of god, and wee had an excercise there upon the 22nd of the 7th m. [1687] by way of thanksgiving for the continuance of our liberty. About this time there was a sad hand of god upon two who were nutting upon the Lord's day, the woman was threescore years of age fell out of a tree was staked and dyed upon the third day; the youth was at the same excercise but 2 miles distant from her, hee came home distracted, his Sabbath breaking being the only caus to bee assigned.

I had written to my brethren in the ministry about Manchester that wee might meet to consider of some things of speciall concernment to us as ministers and to our people under the present

[1] The King came to Chester 27th August, 1687.

providence, some few of us mett there accordingly upon the 5th of 8th m. [1687] and the result of the sayd meeting was that wee owned each other as ministers in reference to our ordination, though wee did not proceed to the further particulars, our time and number being but small; there was also about the same time a motion sett on foot at Bolton for another meeting in order to further cōunion, though wee differ as to pswasion in some things. Numerous assemblyes and comfortable excercises not only in populous but in desolate places, yea some buddings of a work of god in and among the people did refresh our soules about this time.

It fell in my way to speak against the inordinate affection to and the iṁoderate use of Tobacco which did caus much trouble in some of my hearers, and some reformation did follow. I had notice of two examples which did, the one I had from my reverend Brother, Mr. Robert Whittaker, concerning a professor who could not follow his calling without his pipe in his mouth, but that text Isaia. 55, 2[1] coming into his mind hee layd aside his taking of tobacco; the other instance was of a profane pson living nigh Haslingden (who was but poor) and took up his time in this trade of smoking and also spent what should releiv his poor family, this man dreamed that he was taking tobacco and that the devill stood by him filling one pipe after another for him; in the morning hee sett to his old cours notwithstanding, thinking it was but a dream, but when hee came to take his pipe, hee had such an apprehension that the devill did indeed stand by him and doe the office as he dreamed, that he was struck speachless for a time, and when hee came to himself hee threw his tobacco in the fire and his pipes at the walls, resolving never to meddle more with it. At the excercise at Bashaw about this time I felt the very organs of my speech failing, and on the Sabbath following I preached in much pain by the chollick through a cold I took.

[1] "Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not."

Upon the 8th of the 9th m. [1687] Brother Sager was called to bee pastor to the church of Walmsly being first dismissed to them and received by them, that solemn occasion being sanctifyed by the word and prayer and fasting.

My retireing in this 9th m. [1687] was upon manifold occasion, viz., as to my generall and particular calling, also the renewing of my repentance and covenant, the infirmityes I feel by reason of my naturall temp and age creeping on : the temptations I am beseiged and buffetted withall, the litle encouragement I meet with from my brethren in the ministry as to my publique work and the excercise I doe meet with from a near relation, with other cases.

The day after at Darwyn I was dissappointed as to man's help and as to the meeting for accomodation, but the lord was not awanting and I was comforted in my design. In some instances it looked as if the lord had sett some good work on foot on soules by those convictions and affections which were then stirring under the ordinances, one of the preachers in publique coming to hear confessed that it went through him (to use his own expression) and made him weep all the while ; yea hee kindly thanked mee afterward, I had occasion to ripp up and lay open the sins of the countrey ; soe that I feared that my hearers would flee (though sweeter means were made use of with the shaper) but the most of them kept close for all that, and the lord still stood by mee. My daughter's condition had been solemnly comended to god not only when I last retired, but upon a day which the church sett apart for that purpose, when her time of travell was come I had some speciall motions and meetings on her account under her lingering pains and much weakness withall, the issue was gracious for upon the 23rd of this 9th m. [1687] shee was safely delivered of a son. Upon the 4th of the 10th m. [1687] I baptized my grandson in my meeting place, calling him by my own name at the instant desire of my daughter.

Another monthly excercise begun at Healy[1] though the

[1] Near Burnley.

auditory there proved slenderer than elsewhere, but my greatest excercise about this time was from the working of an evill spirit in some who made a bad use of a plain admonition given to a neighbour; soe that I feared it might disaffect the minds of the people against the gospell. On the 12th of the 11th m. [1687] that able faithfull young minister of Christ Mr. John Issot[1] dyed, a sad blow and loud sermon to Craven. I was much concerned for him in the time of his sickness, I hope not altogether in vain. I had then about sore excercise not only from the most unreasonable and ungratefull carriage of some neighbours, but from the fall of some who made a profession. On Manchester side I was under greater disadvantages than ordinary by want of sleep, much distemp of body and inward distraction through the troubles of a near relation, yet did the lord bear up my spirit and body.

My retireing on the 12th m. [1687] was in reference to my generall calling that I found my love languishing and my lusts getting head, also on behalf of the gospell, more particularly that the lord would pleas to own the meeting of ministers at Blackburn. One Mitchell a young man of litle acquaintance with the principles of relligion leavend with corrupt opinions and of mean gifts, yet took upon him to preach, and drew away many after him; it happend that wee excercised at the same time within a mile and half of each other, soe that many were prevented from coming to our meeting through that temptation, and I fear pverted also, soe that wee have this unhappy occasion to obscure the truth and obstruct the gospell, to embitter liberty and endanger soules. My work in Craven returned upon mee having severall opportunityes among the desolate people. The people meeting us had hard saying with us and hoping to find a more easy way by other doctrin they fall aff from our meeting, yet doth the lord order it soe that our assembly is still filled up by others coming in. It was observable and observed by that

[1] John Issot was privately ordained 8th July, 1678. He was for some time an assistant to Mr. Frankland as preacher and tutor at Natland.

worthy ꝑson S. C. H. [Sir Charles Hoghton] when wee mett at Hoghton to return thanks for his Lady's safe delivery that they had a rebuke for their too long dely of that duty by the illness of the litle one, and from their very purpose as to this solemn day the child begun to recover. There was a good accord at our association of ministers, though alass, our beginnings were small, who hath dispised the day of small things.

Upon the 8th of the 1st m. 168$\frac{7}{8}$ wee begun our monthly fast which wee had agreed on at the association-meeting, the occasions were publique. At that day at Elder Haworths wee had severall gracious returns of prayer some on that very day and others soon after. One occasion at that time which I (with severall of my Brethren) had towards Lancaster was to wait upon a ꝑson of honour with respect to some publique concerns.

Wee were sore putt to it all over the countrey through the failure of fodder and grass also, wee were very much threatned in the season and yet the lord was entreated in this thing.

Upon the 15th of the 3rd m. [1687] was the foundation of my new litle chappell layd, and it was finished upon the 14th of the 5th m.; upon the day of it finishing I gott the church together (as the business of the time would ꝑmitt) to help mee with their prayers and praises that the occasion and offering might be sanctifyed, the day after wee went into it. But it is the spirituall building that is the main business: though providence ordered it that I had some more respite on the week day, and my son was brought to us both to help mee in my work and to caution mee by that good word which hee brought. Satan was stirring to hinder the people from attending at our seacond opportunity at Hooden, but I was encouraged by the hopes I had in the end of a young ꝑson who lived a while with me and dyed about that time.

Upon the 27th of the 4th m. [1688] the lord released the young sister and poor neighbour from her greivous and tedious affliction by taking her to himself; in the close of her funerall sermon upon psal. 73, 26, I gave account of severall considerable

passages concerning her; on the same day wee had our publique collection for the french-protestants.

My retireing on the 5th m. [1688] was cheifly (1) as to my own weakness and failings, corruption and temptations not only as to calling and occasions in generall, but in particular, that I might be sanctifyed and all blessed; (2) as to the Ministers' meeting and the design thereof; (3) as to the trial of the bishops; (4) as to the great suffering of the french-protestants, as we had afforded them a collection as to externalls the day before. It was a good while before I gott affected, but after a while I felt speciall fellowship and familiarity with the lord. The day after I heard of the bishops being acquitted, and not long after of their treating with the non-conformists about accomodation.

Much afflicted at the sad condition of the congregation at Kendall, I could bring them a healing word, but alass! I could doe litle healing work among them. The ministers meeting litle encreasing; our brethren (who professed to give us the right hand of fellowship) withdrawing their helping hand, our hands were much weakned. I had good expience of god in the various opportunityes which I had in my Sheffeild journey and after my return. Wee had a very solemn day on behalf of a certain woman under strange distemp of body and mind, bewitched if not possessed, the lord did signally help that day as I had extra-ordinary meetings, but the poor woman wee prayed for was better both in mind and body soon after.

Wee had a solemn day upon occasion of the Parliament to bee called, and god helped in the seeking of his face, yet did not things frame in our county for a good choice and I had much excercise by the hanging of some, notwithstanding all endeavour. I could not but take notice of that gracious presence of god with mee in Altham upon the 16th of the 7th m. [1688] which was the same day of the same month on which I first came to Altham, soe that (having obtained help from god) I have consumated the 59th year of mine age and the 39th year of my ministry in this countrey.

My retireing in the beginning of the 8th m. [1688] was upon occasion of that damp I had upon mee in my work and the danger I was in, not only from my own temptations but from the times also. The day after wee mett to bless god solemnly upon severall occasions publique and private amongst the rest for the lord's goodness in my health. About this time a neighbouring gentleman who was too much given to strong drink and to women, having had warning by falls from his hors and being (it seems) again too full of drink hee soe light off his hors at an alehous door that hee fell and the hors sett his foot upon the bottom of his belly, which soe crushed his body that he dyed 3 dayes after. My son (about the same time) escaped imminent danger in a journey to Lancaster.

Wee had a comfortable meeting of ministers and others on the 18th of the 8th m. [1688] at my hous, indeed wee wanted the company of some of our brethren, but the lord made it up with others. But alass! wee were dissappointed as to a more generall meeting at Chappell of Frith, the distractions of the times discouraging some. In my journey then about to Manchester and Chester I was much putt to it being forced to return in the same week becaus I could not provide for my own people, yet did the lord order the season signally and help mee through all the work, and at my return, not only on the Sabbath but at the excercise in Padiham, where I had but a slender appearance and therfore I let the excercise fall. Our more publique day of solemn seeking of god by prayer with fasting was upon the day following.

The Dutch with the English and Scottish army begun to land on the 5th of the 9th m. [1688], concerning the P. of O.,[1] his expedition into England it was strange to us who were altogether unacquainted with the thing and with the grounds of it, yet wee might hope that such men had good grounds for what they did and wee must needs wish well to y^{m} as protestants.

[1] Prince of Orange.

My retireing about the middle of the 9th m. [1688] was upon occasion of the publique danger that I might (through the grace of Christ) doe what I could for the caus and church of god. My daughter's case fell in here also, tho the thing was sudden yet I hope the time was not spent in vain. My sister's recovery from under the sentence of death at that time was a signall answer to prayers. But alass I was thrown down and trampled in the mire soon after by that messenger of Satan through mine own infirmity. Oh! wretched man that I am, yea I find new temptations as to the world, the things thereof as to my own outward estate failing, and freinds also failing though so much engaged. At Hors-hey I had in the former excercise expienced much help upon Jam., 4, 4, but afterward I found it otherwise as I thought, though I had a more encouraging assembly the later time.

A reviving on the Sabbath following and yet more enlarged upon the 1st of 11th m. [1688]. On the same day my daughter had a blessed return of prayers and signall deliverance of another son which was baptized upon the 10th of the seyd month by the name of John, it being our publique fast day. Though wee were surprized and freinds failed as to the Election of knights for the county, yet did the lord signally help mee in that journey to Lancaster, and S^{r} Charles Hoghton was chosen as freely as possible, indeed there was some competition with L^{d} Brandon but the dissenters were pswaded concerning him and soe did carry it. Hearing that our brethren at London did solemnly observ the 22nd instant being the day of the meeting of the great convention, wee also mett upon the same occasion. My retirement in this month was upon account of my own infirmityes and temptations which grew upon mee and are very violent; the publique affaires of the caus and church of god, also my mother's dying condition, my elder grandson was then taken with several sad fitts. Soon after wee kept a solemn day of thanksgiving for our signall deliverance and the hopefullness of instruments soe farr; wee had an account that the Prince himself was a pious man, prayed in his family and restrained the nobles from swearing.

Upon the 1st Sabbath in the 12th month in the evening my dear mother departed near the consum̄ation of the 92nd year of her age, shee had great expience of the grace of god whilst shee had a tedious time towards her later end as to her body, but a comfortable time in the close as to her spirit, shee was interr'd at Altham in my first wife's grave according to her desire. Our monthly fast day was turned into a day of thanksgiving, it happening to bee the publique day of thanksgiving by autority.

Upon the 10th of the 12th m. [1688] (being Lord's day) betimes in the morning my dear daughter Sarah departed; yet was not the work of the day disturbed nor wee distracted. She had a pretious soul in a crazy body and carryed like a christian in every respect, not only towards her husband but towards mee, had shee lived longer shee might have had some strong temptations from some very good relations though conforming.

My retireing soon after was sudden; the lord threatning to take away my youngest grandson, having also some publique concernments before mee in particular. My desolate case by reason of the taking away of my mother and daughter, my doubt as to my way and danger in my present condition doe putt mee sore to it. The church also mett to com̄end my case to god and to consult about it. The ministers meeting was much prevented by reason of the extremity of the season, the few who are associated being scatterd at such distance also, soe that nothing was concluded but all referred to a further and fuller meeting. The condition of the people of Kendall in the present conjuncture and the engagement upon mee to goe thither did necessitate mee to travell through much wett and foul way. The 11th of the 2nd m. 1689 should have been our publique fast or fast for the publique, but wee thought it convenient to turn it into a day of thanksgiving, it being the day of the King's coronation.

I find the necessity of much labour to my body, for I had more unrest to my spirit and my temptations were more stirring, I having more rest to my body than ordinary for one week, I find also how good it is to take an opportunity at the first offer,

els wee may for ever lose it; I found this upon the occasion of sister Hamond's last sickness and my visiting of her. What concerns the case of young Dugdale[1] I draw it up together in a paper by itself wee begun to bee concerned about that business at this time. A vain thought harbourd offends god and harms us, a poor old man who was undone as to this world by a fire which happen'd in his out housing, hee confessed that over-night before the fire hee had a thought which hee gave too much entertainment unto, when hee saw his goods about him, that hee should never want. My retireing at this time I was driven to by the extremity of mine own temptations, the great hazard as to publique affaires, and the greivous excercise of severall parlicular psons.

The tydings of our publique liberty established by law must needs affect mee more than ordinary, having almost given up our hopes thereof, the majority of the Parliament being of such a complexion. I have had my son's help two days and the lord was pleased to help him, the lord has done much for both my children, wee endeavoured to keep the nationall fast in most strict and solemn manner, it being upon account of the warr with France and our army's going to releiv Ireland, there was a considerable appearance of the people. The very day after wee heard of the surrender of Edinburgh Castle and of the routing Dundee's forces, but alass! what a soldiery have wee both at home and abroad, how many Achans yet in our camp.

Major Nowell laboured to gett his comission renewed, but was rejected, though I had an opportunity with the Ld. Leiftenant and had some interest in him, yet it was as well that I was not instrumentall for the cashering of him (see p. 26 *ante*), it was the more providence of god that hee's cast out of his habitation and office also, that wee have liberty as ministers and opportunity to meet at the next door to Morton,[2] which was his hous, though

[1] *The Surey Demoniack*, or an account of Satan's strange and dreadful actings in and about the body of Richard Dugdale, &c. London, 1697. This was compiled by Thomas Jolly and John Carrington.

[2] Morton Hall is situate on the right bank of the Calder, in the parish of Whalley.

his business for many years had been to take mee off my work and thrust mee out of my dwelling, yea, hee foretold that I should not dwell at the Wymond houses or hee would not dwell at Morton. Though providence staked mee down by the business of Surey to keep the day and preach as well as pray once a week in ordinary upon that occasion yet was my work all about the countrey upon other occasion never the less soe that two or three dayes of excercise in one week was ordinary. Wee were called to the quarter-sessions at Preston upon farr otherwise occasion than formerly; at last king and parliament agree to establish our liberty by law which had not been in any age before. Our swearing fidelity to their present Majestyes whom the parliament hath sett in the throne was one part of the occasion, to this conscience, affection and interest bound us also; another part of the occasion was to declare against popery that wee might not be numbred with those transgressors, and that they may not share with us in the publique liberty; another part of the occasion was to subscribe unto part of the 39 articles, wee were glad of an opportunity to testify to the world that wee are not dissenters from the Church of England (as they style it) wherein it is Protestant. The distance of some with the business of the time made the ministers meeting at this time very slender, yet was it not unprofitable altogether; shortly after wee had a solemn day of thanksgiving for the establishment of our liberty by law, the prælates themselves promoting the bill.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1686] was to bring before the lord the great straits I am in becaus of my condition and the temptation which doe already and are likely further to attend mee therein, the change of it again being also likely to bee ill resented and soe bee præjudiciall to my ministry, also as the publique concerns of the three nations: Dugdale's case and this poor countrey was not forgotten. In my Sheffeild journey and on the severall occasions therein I found gracious assistance. Thus I have finished the 40th year of my Ministry upon the 14th of the 7th m. [1689].

In my journey into Yorkshire at this time I was mercifully delivered from bodily danger and assisted in my work. The 5th of the 9th m. [1689] being also the day of our present king's landing last year wee were loath to let pass without some remarque upon it, therefore wee kept it as a day of thanksgiving. Somtimes I have the advantage of the labours of my brethren in the ministry, the reverend Mr. Pendlbury,[1] whom I joyned with at Ratchdale, in preaching two funerall sermons for the same pson.

My retireing in the 9th m. [1689] was soe long deferred through the throng of other opportunityes — the ill case of the church, Ireland and New England's case, and the case at Surey were caus sufficient.

In that excercise above Slateburn I was putt to it by reason of the illness of the way, and inconvenience of the place in that wild cold countrey.

The death of Mr. Thomas Baily[2] ca[u]ss'd us to mourn with his aged mother and the treachery of many in autority serves to sett forward that work. The lord brought us back to Lowcop by an excercise there, where wee had enjoyed many an opportunity in his parents' dayes when danger was greatest. The ministers meeting at my hous did hold, but becaus Mr. Pendlbury and Mr. Frankland were detained from us wee did not what wee designed.

Upon the 25th of the 10th m. [1689] wee were together, yet very privatly lest wee should seem to observe the time or indeed affront others, becaus wee kept the day in another manner than others did.

My retireing this month was on account of the main work and speciall temptation, the case of Surey which is soe great an

[1] The exact date when Mr. Pendlebury became minister at the Blackwater Street Chapel, Rochdale, is unknown. (See *Hist. of Rochdale.* p. 252.)

[2] Thomas Bailey son of Thomas Bailey (an early member of Mr. Jolly's Society); he went to America with his brother, the Rev. John Bailey, and died there in January, 1689.

excercise to our faith and patience. A speciall providence in my going to Hoghton that wee might comend that worthy patriott to the lord; hee happening to goe for London the morning after to sitt in Parlaiment, having been detained in the countrey soe long by the death of his sister worthy Madam Bruen.

When 3 dayes excercise are crowded together, the places farr distant, and the weather extream, it must needs putt mee to it, it happend soe upon the 1st week of the 11th month [1689] the last opportunity was in Read, where (among other occasions) I had my grandson's case to comend to the lord, the evening before hee was in pill of death by reason of a sudden fit of illness. The distance of the place of meeting and the depth of the snow made my journey very difficult and the meeting very small.

I find great caus to bless god for the grace and growth of brother Elder Waddington.

The design of his Majesty's expedition for Ireland did add to the occasion of our 4th monthly fast day lest hee should fall in their pitts under whose shadow wee live among the heathen.

One Sabbath I was called abroad and had an account of the declining discouraging state of the nation, the favour the Torey party (as they are called) are in the sway they have at Court; to the knocking off of the heads that would save us, and the hazard of all.

My retireing the 1st m. 1690 was very sudden. I did not soe much as think of it overnight, but my old corruption and my own temptation soe much captivating mee, my brethren's infirmity and failing as to united work—the ill choice of new repræsentatives, and the discouragment that poor Scotland is under, made mee that morning to sett my self apart to seek the lord. In my journey to Lancaster, concerning the Election of knights for the county, I had a signall deliverance in a dangerous fall. In that desolate countrey above Slateburn I had a deal of discouragment in some respects yet some encouragments in other respects, particularly as to the family where I lodged.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1690 was becaus I had more liberty from other occasions, and I judged I had great occasion soe to doe. At the funerall of a neighbouring gentleman I had the lamentable object and instance of the world's vanity and of its iniquity also. Oh! the more than bruitish sensuality and sottishness thereof, what a woefull consequence (even as to this world) of profaneness and drunkeness.

Not long since one Richard Atkinson, a profane drunken bailiff, who also was one that reproached and cursed the faithfull servants of christ (when hee could not otherwise psecute them), riding over Hodder-bridge was lifted off his hors, turned thrice about and thrown into the river by an invisible hand, whence hee was taken dead, it was supposed that hee was dead before hee came into the water; as hee lay dead his wife confessed that the evening before hee told her that the devill brought him home and sayd hee would fetch him shortly. A signall answer of prayers in the safe delivery of Sister Elston, whose danger was extraordinary.

What a mercy that I am not in the condition of these poor Irish-protestants who come to beg at my door, but it is much more mercy to mee that I can feel bowells of mercy working towards them.

A speciall providence of god in ordering every circumstance of that visitt which I gave my brother Frankland about this time.

My retireing in the 3rd m. [1690] was not soe much upon my own old occasion (for the lord about this time helped me graciously), but to bewayl our backslidings and breaches — that I might begg a blessing upon the ministers meeting — also as to the Surey case that the lord will pleas yet further to appear in it that wee may yet judg aright of it and do our duty in it. Our solemn meeting soon after was to bless the lord for 2 signall mercyes especially, viz., settled liberty and seasonable weather. In this month was the next meeting of ministers, but very few came to it, of those few some still to strongly byassed to a party.

Wee had a call to wait upon the king's majesty as hee passed

through Cheshire in his expedition for Ireland that wee might not seem to pay less respect where indeed wee owe more, there was a considerable appearance and kind acceptance also I hope, I had some rebuke in the journey to teach mee to keep my watch better. In my return a speciall providence towards a dying friend in Liverpool, shee receiving speciall comfort.

That call to Smeethbottom[1] was not only on behalf of that family, but on behalf of a woman who is under great affliction both of body and mind as the fruit of her unclean conversation in her single estate, and the just reward of some circumstances thereof, of which I have not heard the like. Wee had also an opportunity upon occasion of Brother Holker's[2] oldest son, who after some conviction and profession play'd the prodigall, but being followed with god's hand, was brought home to his father's hous and brought low in a languishing condition, his confession and sens were manifest. But alass! its hard to judg of sincerity in such a case.

My retireing in the beginning of the 5th m. 1690 was not only in respect of my own weakness and failing as to conversation unbecoming a X crucifyed, but the great distress of our brethren in N. E. [New England], also the engagment of armyes and navyes which I thought might bee about that time. Though I find its not in preparations, there must bee imediate assistance, yet are they also of great use as ordinary expience testifyes which I was more sensible of at the publique fast in Darwyn, where I had considerable time for meditation before the beginning of the excercise. I must needs observ how I was myself encouraged, and encouraging others in the name of god through private and publique discouragments when I was at Ratchdale in the 6th m. [1690], yet when I came to Manchester the day after I was caution'd by a word I heard there concerning the ill symptemes of the present times.

My retireing in the 6th m. [1690] was becaus of some straite I was in concerning my family, my houskeeper inclining to

[1] In Ribchester. [2] A family of this name lived at Read, near Altham.

marry and soe likely to leav mee, which probably would bee the breaking of my family and soe putt mee to the changing my habitation or my condition, or both; I had also spirituall condition and speciall temptation.

Sometimes my dreams are holy and things hang together therein, but my dreams are ordinarily vain, god knows. As on other occasions soe on this publique fast the lord did help above ordinary, I could not think in an ordinary way how my body soe worn out should fast from tasting any food above 24 houres and bee in publique excercise 5 of those houres.

Amongst other opportunityes as to others wee had one about this time on behalf of my family, my houskeeper being likely for leaving of mee, the lord was gracious in ordering that affair, preventing her going and keeping my family together.

When I was almost at giving up the design of accomodation and association I received a letter from Mr. Noble of Bristoll giving a considerable account of their proceedings in those Western parts as to that grand affair, it was much refreshing and reviving to mee, providence ordered it soe that I had leisure both to answer his letter in giving an account of our proceedings in that affair and to prosecute it in these parts; accordingly I took my journey to Bolton and Manchester to cōunicate the same to my brethren.

Being sore foyled that week with weather, way, and work, the lord brought both Mr. Whittaker and my son to help mee on the following Sabbath.

My retireing in the 7th m. [1690] was becaus I felt my spirituall adversary thrusting sore to make mee fall, also the sad case and dying condition of Mr. Key, the backwardness of my brethren to the blessed work sett on foot in the West of England, the concernments of my children especially of my younger son in his growing employment. Thus (through all sufficient grace) the 61 year of my age and the 41 year of my ministry in this countrey are finished. Having spent some time alone on Mr. K's behalf as aforesayd I thought it my duty also to visit him,

accordingly I went towards him to see how it is with him, but I was prevented as I went, having notice of his unwillingness of any visitts on such accounts.

On the 7th of the 8th m. [1690] about 7 o'clock in the morning I felt an earthquake, my chamber and chair shaking under mee, yea, the shelves craking as if about to fall. My retireing in the 8th month was not without caus as to my self.

The 10th of the 8th m. [1690] being Lord's day was appointed by autority as a day of thanksgiving and for the preservation of the king's ꝑson in his Irish expedition, and for the preservation of the nation in his absence, also for prospring his design in a good measure, the Sabbath being before sett apart by divine sanction upon a greater occasion wee could not robb god, nor durst wee justle[1] the occasion of the Lord's day, yet wee did then sincerely and solemnly take notice of the occasion recom̄-ended by the king's Majesty, not entrenching upon the morality of the day nor enterfeiring with the main business thereof, but wee sett apart the 21 (being a week day) in obedience to autority to give most solemn thanks.

I had 2 opportunityes at Tockholes, the former for prayer made private with severall of my brethren to begg a blessing on that people who had been a covert to mee when I dwelt among them as an outcast, the latter for preaching more publiquely in the chappell.

A speciall providence in severall particulars at my going to Manchester then about, though I was dissappointed as to the speciall occasion of that journey, I found the lord had heard prayer when I was last there, for a young woman under sentence of death, shee recovering from the very time shee was prayed for; also as to my brethren's compliance to the Essay for accomodation, declaring themselves more moderately than formerly in severall instances.

Wee observed the 5th of 9th m. [1690] as a day of thanksgiving publiquly not only with respectt to the originall occasion,

[1] Jostle, an old cant term meaning to cheat.

but his present Majesty's landing upon that day. Charles the 2nd they would hould to bee king whether god would or noe, James the 2nd would bee king whether the people would or noe. Wee had the supp ordinance two lord's dayes together, on the preparation to the later I found a new temptation arising to discontent mee against one of the dearest in the Society, but the lord did graciously help mee to get the victory over it. The case of Mr. Whalley and his people being referred to the advice of my brother Frankland and mee, wee mett about it alass! weakness appearing and temptation approaching on both hands, yet the lord gave us to agree in our advice as to what could bee done in their case; the day after wee had an excercise near Slateburn, much excercise also in the weather and way, yet did the lord bring a many together in that poor cottage. Upon a private day of thanksgiving wee were threatened with the death of the master of the family, but the lord was entreated and hee recovered suddenly. Being called again to Manchester concerning my executorship [see p. 80] it proved a tedious journey both to body and mind. After many days of meeting for prayer of the young men by themselves and of the young women by themselves, the young men about this time kept a day of thanksgiving for the lord's owning of them.

I was prevented retireing to return thanks for mercyes received being called away to an excercise, yet the lord helped therein, and at another the morning after at Rawthmell.

In my journey to Sheffeild at this time I had bad weather and much work, yet was I releived in all, yea, rejoyced to see the order of my son's family and the lord owning him in his labours.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1690] was to reveiw the speciall grace of god in christ and his distinguishing love in covenant-mercy towards mee. God's covenant kindness in christ to my father and mother also notwithstanding their infirmityes. Also as to spirituall and naturall relations, that I should have soe many spirituall children and such a flock, though I beurayed soe much weakness when I entered upon the work, and soe many

have their hearts broken by their people; that I should have such wives and children, yea, such servants, I being soe unworthy, and it being soe much otherwise with others of my relations. I had also matter of prayer not only as to my self, but also as to the caus and church of god particularly as to the King's voyage into Holland, now as before upon account of his expedition into Ireland. The publique concern drew mee to Lancaster but I was putt upon the journey by the temptation of one and the importunity of others. Oh! what a warning is that occasion to mee! as I went upon a moor I was overwelled with woe; my labour was not lost, as I returned I had an opportunity with Chipping people who had never been well peiced and therefore in the greater danger of utter breaking.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1690] was to humble myself and seek the lord becaus of the great distress I am in as to my present condition and the temptations which besett mee therein, I know not how to continue in it and not fall into a snare, I know not how to change my condition lest the name of god suffer thereby. The death of soe many of Mr. Gey's children and of his only son at last must needs move our pitty and prayers though hee had done much to disoblige us. Uppon a supp day at Altham about this time it pleased the lord to let mee feel my own bodily frailty, I felt an unusuall dullness in mine head as I was preaching, but as I was administring the lord's supp my memory was taken away in great measure, soe that I hardly carryed on the work to the close without much distraction, yea, it wrought soe farr with mee that afterwards I forgott what I had sayd and done, soe that I doubted the issue, remembring how my younger Brother was taken. The deserted desolate case of Chipping people was after remembred that day, also my nephew's case who is designed for the ministry. Though I was much indisposed in stomach, head, and all over, my spiritts, strength, and gifts failing, yet was god good to mee.

I took occasion about this time to visitt a neighbour gentleman, a papist who lay a dying. I thought it not convenient to

discourse [with] him about inferior and more disputable matters, but to instruct him concerning the knowledge of himself as a sinner and of our Saviour concerning faith and repentance.

My retireing in the 2nd m. [1691] was not only to humble myself under former corruptions and failing, [and] later rebuke by my naturall and spirituall infirmityes, but the main occasion of my retireing was the publique concerns. And before the week was ended I had a particular account (from a reverend brother who had a cheif hand in it) concerning the blessed issue of that happy design of accomodation among the Congregationall Presbyterian Brethren at London. The carrying on the warr in Flanders and peace among ourselves did putt us upon more solemn seeking of god. As a witness I was called to the Assizes, where I gott the difference to bee taken up, which might have been a scandall if the business had come into open court; a good presence on this Sabbath at Lancaster. Being called into Craven about an ordination to the ministry and an election into pastorall relation withall, I found not the canditate in such a posture nor such a cours taken as that I could cleerly and cordially joyn with severall Brethren concerned who seemed to mee to take a wrong end to precipitate the business, therefore I durst not comply to huddle up the probation, approbation, ordination, and election in one dayes work unless there had been better satisfaction as to the pson and greater necessity of such a practice, besides the party did manage his preaching-work with soe much weakness and his confession as to order with soe much imprudence that I was yet more disatisfyed as to joyning in setting him apart at present, soe was it as to my Brother Sager's joyning with them also, yet would wee not openly oppose them in the congregation at Rawthmell, though wee were much provoked to it, by his throwing a bone of contention among us, and that there was a kind of challengs to object, but it was soe unseasonable as to the publique design of healing and would have been the occasion of such scandalous distraction in the meeting, that wee would not take fire at this spark, but let it pass and sate down

peaceably, nor departed from the meeting neither lest wee should make too much nois in the countrey. I did privately and plainly admonish the young man for his disingenuous dealing, alass! alass! have they not yet done with setting one church above another; yea, above many churches, whilst they oppose one bishop above others, yea, over many congregations: not but that wee most earnestly desire and endeavour a brotherly association for mutual advice and assistance, yea, lawfull Synods for the determination of matters prop thereunto, but wee must first meet to understand each others principles and practices. Fearing a publique neglect wee had a solemn day upon the publique account 16th of 2nd m. 1691, the lord carryed us comfortably through that day and through all the ordinances of the lord's day, though then I had the sad tydings of my elder son's very weak and dangerous condition.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1691 was upon account of my son's condition and the publique concerns, I thought I might bee most usefull to him that way, his case being likely to bee changed before I could reach him, my spiritts being soe much spent that I was not fitt to travell such a journey. I had great excercise on the week following, and good expience, also on the Sabbath following. Though under much infirmity and temptation the lord helped signally through the whole work of the publique fast (which was now renewed). On the day following I had the sad tydings of my son Samuell's death, yet I may call them sweet as to the manner of it. I had then also the printed agreement subscribed by my Brethren in Salford-hundred sent to mee, this withall helped even to over ballance the affliction, some circumstances indeed seemed to aggravate it, but why should I stand out with the Lord about circumstances when as hee answers mee in the main. The next day I went towards Sheffeild though I had a sickly journey. The particular account of my son's conflicting life and comfortable death (with the help of some memorials which I found amongst his papers) I drew up by it self afterwards in a breif narrative. My sister's sickness

called me to Manchester, on whose behalf the lord heard prayers as to sparing her a while to putt her secular concerns into some better readiness.

Upon the 25th of 3rd m., 1691, it pleased god to return upon my sayd dear sister Dean with another distemp and to call her away by it, soe that I was called back to Manchester upon the occasion of her funerall, god had wrought his good work upon her, whilst shee was my hous-keep had it been to doe in her sickness, it had been ill to doe; shee did work for god under her great bodily infirmityes, but in her last sickness shee was not in a capacity to doe much for him. Her worldly concerns being wholly cast upon mee, I mett with much hurry as to business and from some relations. Immediatly after my return I went towards York to take out letters of administration, tuition on behalf of the orphan my grandson; I had much toyl to my body and sickness at my stomach in this journey also, yet the lord helped mee through all and dispatcht my business beyond expectation, soe in my Sabbath work after my return, but sadly clogged with a body of sin and death, dogged with troubles and temptations.

The week after wee had a very solemn day for humiliation upon account of former divisions, and of thanksgiving withall for the late happy union, according to the example of our brethren in London. Oh! what caus I have to bee humbly thankfull on behalf of my surviving son, whose help I had on week days and lord's day about this time.

My retireing in the beginning of the 5th m. [1691] was upon account of my dull and dead frame which my age gives advantage to, also to remember my late breach and the lord's mercy, also as to my son, also on behalf of the orphan and the rest of my family, my son and daughter who draws near her time; also as to the meeting of ministers and other publique concerns.

On the day following the ministers mett at Preston, when wee had some good accord upon the terms of the agreement, also as to the order of our meetings.

Several meetings of ministers at Bolton much failing, some speciall tryalls in this journey to Manchester, I had much adoe with my spirit concerning the foul miscarriage of one prætending to relligion in Gorton-chappelry. That meeting of ministers at Blackburn in the 6th m. [1691] was but slender yet not altogether in vain.

Through want of sleep that night my head was soe much out of order that I doubted I should bee wholly unfitted for the excercise in Darwin on the day following, but the lord did graciously help.

About this time my grandson had a signall deliverance from drowning.[1] A gracious answer of many prayers in the safe delivery of my weakly daughter, the lord adding to mee another grandson, her sparing is a publique mercy considering my son's circumstances.

How apparantly doth Satan work to hinder this good work of associating for mutuall assistance. I found it in our meeting at Preston on the beginning of the 7th m.—the lord rebuke him. In the same month wee mett at my hous solemnly to bless god for our many publique signall mercyes, particularly as to the season of the year.

My retireing in this 7th m. [1691] was not only upon account of my spirituall state and speciall temptation, but especially as to some obstructions in our Association-work.

Thus through the good hand of god upon mee I am arrived at the 62 year of mine age and of the 42 year of my ministry in this countrey. Lord who am I (soe sinfull and soe weak) that thou hast brought mee hitherto, that thou shouldst shew mee such great things?

The meeting of ministers at Bolton upon the 21 was with some better effect than formerly, in our return some of us mett Mr. Key, as to his case. I had much temptation by a pap I received from him overnight, but the Lord helped mee above it,

[1] Oliver Heywood refers to this in his "Remarkable return of Prayer." Mr. J. Horsfall's edition of *Diary*, vol. iv. p. 164.

and to carry towards him as if there had been noe such provocation. In the beginning of the 8th m. [1691] wee had an excercise near Chipping; afterwards wee had the meeting of ministers in our district and a good accord among those that were present.

These two weeks I had some more leisure to reveiw my diary and to bring this transcript hitherto. At Manchester I found not that assistance in the excercise which I had at other times, though the opportunity was not ordinary there, being a larger auditory of young ministers than usuall, yet was I much helped in that journey at Chester. I sate down with them there at Supp-ordinance upon notice of the pastors subscribing the agreement, soe I had opportunity to press them to their further duty thereupon. A good opportunity at Liverpool on the 5th of 9th m. [1691] in my return.

In my journey to Lancaster within the same month, it being for the services of the churches, I found a good presence with mee all along, though wee had one very hard case before us at the meeting of ministers there. Also as to endeavours for the bringing back of astray-sheep, as well as for healing of a divided people; I was detained there that Sabbath; helped also at an excercise in Winterbourn [1] as I returned.

After a good day of thanksgiving among my own people upon some more private occasions wee kept the 26th as a solemn day of thanksgiving appointed by authority for the safety of the king's pson and the success of his arms in Ireland.

My retireing in the 10th m. [1691] was becaus I found a great want of god and godliness, not only in myself but others. [The Lord] much helped mee in mine excercise and convers at Rawthmell, though I was under such discouragments there formerly.

My retireing again in the same month was not only because I had leisure more than ordinary, but becaus I felt corruption and found temptation more than ordinary. A singular mercy in my

[1] Winterburn in Craven. In 1694 the house of Thomas Whaley of Winterburn was registered for religious meetings.

hous keep yet such distractions by her suitors and such temptations to mee upon that occasion that I am sadly hurryed all the week, yet god helps in publique work, a speciall mercy in my present man-servant. In my journey to Preston on account of the minister's meeting I mett with the dolefull tydings of Mrs. Keys drowning herself, the discountenance of some ꝑsons with respect to his case [see p. 100] though they had seen the filthy paper of testimonyes against him, I mett also with a dissappointment as to the meeting itself, there being such a slender appearance of my brethren, I also gott some cold and soe was under some bodily distemp at Hoghton; at Stirkhous I had more sensible expience of god's speciall presence. One occasion of the day of conference in this month was to cleer it, whether my houskeep is called to change her condition and soe to goe out of my family, the lord had soe sett her in the place and soe suited her to it, yea, settled her in it soe long that I confess the probability of the motion taking and threatning consequences of it was even death to mee and drove away my sleep. I was forced to entertain thoughts of changing my condition again,[1] the providence of god seeming to push mee upon it.

My retireing again soe soon was very sudden, but I was necessitated to it by the recoyling of the temptations about my houskeep, whom I know not well neither how to keep nor how to part with, shee being soe singularly fitted for her present place and such a carefull nurs to mee in mine elder dayes. I had occasion also to humble my soul and seek the lord concerning my nephew.

I was soe putt to it in my family circumstances that I called severall of the family into my brethren to cōmend the case to god stating both our cases as well as I could and as farr as I durst. Our meeting of Ministers at Preston carried on through much difficulty of weather and discountenance from some, but the lord helpt through all and changed their countenance toward us.

[1] He had already survived four wives.

My retireing in the 12th m. [1691] was not only beecaus of my good leisure, but great occasion, also to humble my self for originall and actuall sins.

A monthly excercise being sett up in Millthropp in Westmoreland I was desired to begin it, accordingly (with the consent of my brethren) I went thither, though the way and weather was too hard for mee, soe that I was much indisposed in my return and necessitated to stay by the way.

Madame Lambert [see p. 30] being with us upon a lord's day about this time, severall of her nearest relations and others with them were in extrem pill of drowning at the same time, there seemd to bee a rebuke in it for their going to feast at Bolton-hall[1] upon the lord's day (which was the occasion of the danger) though her daughter's obedience to her father in going along with him, was with much reluctancy. Among our more private opportunitys upon private occasions wee had one about this time, upon a publique account, publique affairs having but an ill aspect especially as to Scotland, wee having also in vain expected that the monthly fast should bee revived upon the king's going forth. I was greatly excercised in body and mind as to the funerall of John Brooks of little Bolton and the severall circumstances thereof not fitt to bee mentioned. Yet I still find the lord's help in my lord's-day work, though I felt myself by my late excercise more aged in a few months than in severall yeares before.

That journey with my grandson and servants to Halifax was with great difficulty and danger, yet the lord helpt and kept us through all. In the many opportunityes at Sheffeild and in my return both publique and private I was greatly helpt. I was heartily refreshed and rejoyced at the recovery of my Brother Heywood, also by the labours of my son, concerning whom I am more and more satisfyed and comforted. The week after my return wee had the funerall sermon for brother Ingham, hee was a signall instance of the grace of god and of faithfullness in his

[1] Near Bolton Abbey.

severall capacityes and conditions, hee also dyed comfortably and honourably.

My retireing in the 2nd m. 1692 was upon occasion of the providence about my man-servant who was in my absence unadvisedly and unhappily concerned too farr in a business which occasioned a great scandall in the countrey; I had also other occasions too both publique and private. My Manchester journey had much excercise attending it by some secular occasions, yet a good providence in my return to visit dear brother Birron before his departure. I had much satisfaction severall wayes in discours with him and prayer for him; hee dyed next morning. The work of publique fast being now revived the lord did graciously help us in it.

In my journey towards Millthrop I spent some time at Teatham-chappell [1] through much difficulty and discouragment, yet helped there and at Millthrop, soe in my return upon sundry occasions particularly at Preston being also after 14 miles riding that morning to preach in the stead of Brother Benson, who was taken away by death, to the great loss of Kellett people and the weakning of our poor association.

Neighbours, yea, professors falling off from coming to repetition was excercise to mee more that a litle, but the taking away of our dearest Brother Elder Haworth did almost overwhelm mee, hee designed to have been with us at a baptizing, and to have visited severall widows as hee told mee the Sabbath before thinking his time to bee but short, but it pleased god that next morning hee wakened in æternity without soe much as a word or a groan, a while before hee had been discoursing with his wife.

My retireing in the beginning of the 4th m. [1692] was sudden yet it was time to fall at the lord's feet having soe many blowes by his hand each heavier than the other.

On the day following the day of Brother Haworth's funerall I judged myself bound to give an account of his character and carriage, which was soe good every way in every capacity; hee

[1] Tatham Fells chapel.

was soe affectionate and yet soe judicious, soe faithfull and yet soe charitable, soe zealous yet soe discreet, soe diligent in god's hous and in his own too, that hee was a pson more than ordinary and god blessed him accordingly, the blessing in him prevailing above that of his progenitors, especially as to his hopefull posterity, had not the lord snatcht him from us wee should (it may bee) have held him too fast. The victory at sea was the hand of god signally, as the wind was the only hindrance to the french invading us in the 2nd m. [1692] soe it kept them off from assailing us till our fleets were joynd, then it brought them upon us and then veer'd about for us. Though things went well at sea, yet wee were left doubtfull as to the confæterate army by land, that wee might neither want encouragment nor excitement to the work of the publique fast at hand. Upon the day after the funeral sermon for brother Haworth wee spent much of it in humbling our soules and seeking the lord in and for that family. The great concern of this poor Society was followed in way of conference also, and somethings were drawn up thereupon to bee cōunicated to all in cōunion with us. I meet with much excercise by some secular business cast upon mee, yet releived by a good day I had in litle Bolton as I went, and at Manchester by a good word which I heard there, also by some good hopes of my nephew.

Sore weather beaten in my journey to the ministers meeting at Lancaster and much dissappointed of a solemn meeting at that time, some principall Brethren failing, yet I helpt to what I was capable of doing, and soe was returned home safely. Though it was a busy time yet the people came to the publique fast meeting at Altham.

My retireing in the 5th m. [1692] I was driven to by the extremity of my infirmity and temptation as to my generall and particular calling, my condition also as solitary and I growing into yeares, as to my family (particularly my houskeep) and my poor Society, also as to the caus and church of god in these and other nations.

In my journey to Milthrop I had some good expience of divine assistance there and also at Kendall, where the wound seemed to bee healed, but alas it . . . . again, neither the way of god being taken by that people nor the work being deep enough, some further endeavours were used, oh that they may bee blessed! helped also in my poor labours at Rawthmell in my return.

The meeting of ministers on the 30th of 6th m. [1692] was at my hous where there was a good accord and something sett on foot for the propogating of the gospell in this poor countrey. In the beginning of the 7th m. [1692] wee mett in pursuance of our design of renewing our covenant and comunion, also in order to preparation for the Lord's Supp and the confirmation wee need thereby.

Wee mett soon after solemnly to bless god for our publique mercyes, viz., the preventing of the french invasion and the plott there upon, our victory at sea, and some seasonable weather. My going to Kellett to preach the funerall sermon for my dear freind R. W. was through very much difficulty of weather and way, soe that I contracted much cold and distemp of body. Thus (through the good hand of god upon mee) I am brought to the 67th year of mine age and the 43rd year of my ministry in this countrey, blessed bee god, Amen, Halelujah!

My retireing the beginning of the 8th m. [1692] was to recognize the mercyes of the lord towards mee, soe unworthy of the least of them, in continuing my life and health in any measure, when soe many of my near relations are taken away; that I have my peace and liberty maintained, remembring former troubles and present dangers, that my houskeep is soe settled and soe my family is kept together. At Chester I mett with some excercise more than ordinary, the indiscret and unkind carriage of some giving the occasion (as I thought), yet did the lord prepare for it and help through it. Some considerable expience in speciall ordinances and at the solemn meeting of ministers in Blackburn.

Upon the 22nd of the 8th m. [1692] wee begun my Sister

Dean's lecture, which shee cheifly designed for the good of poor ignorant soules, and left a legacy for it; to draw such in wee gave some money and books. [See p. xxiii.]

My retireing in the 9th m. [1692] was upon the occasion of my houskeeps extreme illness, the threatning consequences in case shee should bee taken away by death; other occasions publique and private must not be forgotten. I had more than ordinary excercise in this journey to Milthrop, not only that I was soe harrased with the storminess of the season, but as to the very dangerous case I left my hous keep in, and the divided discord and condition I found the people of Kendall in, but the Lord helpt through all, leaving them and finding her somewhat better at my return.

The meeting of ministers at Bolton upon the 21 of the 9th m. [1692] was comfortable and hopefull, some preparation being made for a more generall meeting of all the county either psonally or by Delegates from the severall Districts. Though the weather was very stormy and I labour'd under much indisposition of body, yet I found most sensible strengthning even to my body; being excercised one day at Northwood and the next at Barlwick,[1] soe soon after at Stirkhous,[2] though the weather and way were extream, my travell soe farr to and fro soe great.

In the funerall sermon on that difficult occasion of Mr. G., I found speciall help. Helpt at a conference amongst ourselves about church-affaires, but much excercised by the untowardness of some who withdraw their helping hand yet refreshed by the good accord at a meeting betwixt these two Sister Societyes, and by the labours of my dear Brother Sage upon the day following.

Though the Lord doe help in Lord's day work yet meetings are but slender in this solitary place, soe that I begun to quæstion whether I should not take some other cours.

The meeting at my hous to bless god solemnly for signall mercyes to my family (particularly as to the wonderfull recovery

[1] (?) Barnoldwick, in Thornton parish. [2] Stirkhouse, in Gisburn.

of my houskeep) was comfortable, though I had a great temptation from my Brother Elder———. That morning much helped to speak to that Auditory at Stirkhous where many were present who are too apt to abuse the doctrine of free grace. As to that business of Mr. David Crosby wee mett at Rawthmell, hee had desired our advice and assistance about his being sett apart to the ministry, the work whereof hee had taken upon him too rawly and rashly, for his acquired accomplishments were very inconsiderable, yet had hee præsumed to preach and to baptize also without ordination; upon his acknowledgment of his irregular proceeding herein wee were ready to sett him right, but it then appeared that hee had fallen into further irregularity in being rebaptized and in joyning himself to a people of that pswation after hee had begun to treat with us about that matter; wee were thereby taken off from being helpfull to him as wee designed.

My retireing in the 11th m. [1692] was cheifly upon account of publique occasion, viz., the meeting of ministers and the healing of breaches, also as to the success of the gospell particularly at Clitherow, the lord opening a door even there by a speciall hand of providence, some private occasions I had also, viz., the affliction returning of my houskeep and the scandall of a noted professor. There was a particular presence of god with and providence of god about his unworthy servant as to soul and body, spirituall and secular affaires in my occasions at Manchester and Lancaster, particularly in the Lecture at Manchester, in the meetings with my Brethren both there and at Lancaster much of the grace of god appeared in answer to prayers on the behalf of the orphans at Sparth.

My retireing in the 1st m. 169$\frac{2}{3}$ was cheifly as to the preparing of all concerned about the generall meeting at Bolton, also as to the case of Clitherow and my designed journey to Sheffeild. As to the case of Clitherow wee mett with some forcible yet feeble opposition some setting themselves to hinder the meeting and proceeding soe farr as to break all the glass

now sett up by us all to peices, yet was the Lord pleased to carry us through both comfortably and honourably.

In my journey to Sheffeild at this time both the weather and way were very bad, my work also and weakness were great, yet did the lord help graciously at Sheffeild, Attercliff, Clapwell, Hague, Kipping Horton, yea, upon all occasions.

At Clapwell wee had also an opportunity for prayer with fasting upon the publique account; at Kipping I administred the lord's supp to that destitute people, and at Horton I baptized severall.

The publique place at Clitherow being vacant one lord's day in the month wee were desired by the Bailiffs and some of the people to alter our meeting to that day, wee condescended for tryall for some time, though it was much to my inconvenience and my people's also, the people flocked more in upon the lord's day meeting, wee were very peaceable. The day following I did reach the Lecture and generall meeting at Bolton (being the 3rd of the 2nd m. 1693) I confess it did much fall short of mine expectation, noe District but ours bringing in their account according to the agreement and advice. The solemn day for humiliation and supplication as to our former divisions and present short cōmings was but coldly received and faintly resolved. I visited Justice Parker of the Castle under his sickness, who dyed that evening, it seems hee had killed himself by his intempance, and had suffered himself to bee made use of to hinder our meeting at Clitherow if it should bee. There was something of god in the opportunityes at Hoghton, Read, Altham, [and] Northwood, though through a world of infirmityes and temptations.

I had much excercise about this time by the heedlesness of my younger servant mayd, which gave occasion to a robbery in one of my out houses the loss was something considerable. Almost swallowed up with discouragments from my infirmityes and temptations, private and publique, much promoted by my naturall melancholly, age cōming on and the cloudy, rainy season,

soe that I am grown very unprofitable and uncomfortable yet somwhat gott before hand with my study.

The reading Monsieur Iurieu [1] his pastorall letters was of good use to mee towards the affecting of mee with the case of the French and Hungarian protestants, also Flavell's treatise of the divine providence was of good use.

My retireing towards the later end of the 2nd m. was only for part of the day, fearing that the depth I was plunged into was for want of solemn recognizing my mercyes. The excessive wett detaining mee from going to Milthrop wee mett at my hous upon account of the threatning weather with other publique occasions, but it pleased god with much mercy to stay the bottles of heaven before the day came. The ministers meeting at my hous upon the 24th of 3rd m. [1693] was comfortable, there were also signall answers of prayers upon the last day at Hoghton. My mercy also in the company and labours of my son was cast in. In two dayes after I had the coppy of an awakning letter from London. My Sister Dean having left a legacy for the preaching of the gospell to poor ignorant soules [see p. 114]; I was at Northwood upon the 6th of 4th m. [1693] as to that occasion.

A growing threatning malady upon my grandson occasion'd much fear and trouble, but the lord was pleased to hear my prayers. My retireing upon the 23rd was much prevented by my sudden calling to Whally upon the account of one in great trouble of mind and weakness of body, even to dispair and horror. My retireing towards the latter end of this month was cheifly to pursue the great designs of the late meetings as to publique occasions in this extraordinary crisis of affairs. I was graciously helpt as to all from first to last, in an inexpressible manner.

Wee had a Supp-day about this time, which was a sealing day indeed, the fruits thereof also were more sensible and abiding than ordinary. My letter to my Brethren was taken notice of

[1] Pastoral Letters, with an account of the Hungarian Persecution, London, 1689. Peter Jurieu was the author of several other works.

by some of them at Manchester, but alass! I doubt the solemn day agreed upon at our generall meeting was not at all observed according to order, one of my Brethren of cheif note there seem'd to look and carry strangely towards mee. My journey towards Milthrop was in a cloud of doubts as to the opportunity there, yet I durst not decline it, it proved a dissappointment by the suspending of that meeting. I was almost forcibly detain'd at Lancaster, and something of a speciall providence towards severall did presently appear therein. Having mett Mr. K. severall times I was (through the grace of god) much concerned for him, that I might bee of use for the bringing home of that stray sheep, but I now fear lest hee should not prove a sheep soe litle of a genuine spirit of gospel simplicity appearing in him.

The ministers' meeting in our District on 23rd of 6th m. [1693] was profitable and comfortable, but the publique discouragements press sore, the lord rebuking us, emptying us, bringing us low and into straits. The lord helpt much on the publique fast, though things frame not as to publique affairs, the lord rebuking us severall wayes not only as to desolation by men's hand in the warr, but by his own imediate hand in the fruits of the earth, yet the providence of god did signally work in that juncture on my behalf, making up my loss by a Legacy then bestowed upon mee.

Thus through the good hand of god upon mee the 44th year of my ministry in this countrey and the 64th year of mine age is finished this 16th of the 7th m. 1693.

[This is the last entry in the Note Book.]

THE

Altham and Wymondhouses Church Book.

WHAT is commonly known as Mr. Jolly's Church Book has long ago disappeared. In 1803 a copy of a copy of the original made by Martin Greenhalgh was taken for James Bury of Pendle Hill. This has again been transcribed by the late Mr. W. A. Abram, from whose copy the following extracts are taken. There is still a doubt if even Martin Greenhalgh's copy consisted of anything more than copious extracts, as in it are frequent references such as [see Church Book] [see *Registers*] and [see *Manuscript*].

[The following account was copied, in the year 1803, from a copy made from the original, by Martin Greenhalgh for Mr. James Bury of Pendle Hill, but some part of the first leaf (of the earliest copy) being torn away, the beginning is imperfect. It relates to Mr. Jollie's birth and parentage, &c., with an incident of his meeting with an accident in his youth, by a wild boar that got him down and wounded him on the head. The account proceeds:—]

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST MEETING AT ALTHAM, WYMONDHOUSES, AND SPARTH, FROM THE YEAR 1649 TO THE YEAR 1737, UNDER THE PASTORAL CARE OF FIRST MR. THOMAS JOLLY, FROM CAMBRIDGE, AND MR. JOHN JOLLY, HIS NEPHEW, AND LASTLY, MR. THOMAS JOLLY, HIS GRANDSON.

Mr. Jolly being qualified with a competent measure of school knowledge, he was sent to Trin. Coll., Cambridge, where God

provided for him, and kept him from presumptuous sins, and also wet his soul under the ministry of Mr. Hammond and Dr. Hill.

Septr. 16, 1649, being furnished with abilities for the work of the ministry, he was called to serve the Gospel of Christ as a candidate at Altham, in the county of Lancaster. He had the following testimony from several in the University:—

"These lines are to certifie to whom it may concern, that Thomas Jollie, Student in Trinity College, Cambridge, during the time of his residence there (which was betwixt 3 and 4 yeares) was esteemed by us as one studiously and piously affected, in testimony whereof we subscribe our names.

Tho. Hill, Mag. Coll.	Alexr. Akenhurst.
Robt. Metcalfe, Vic. Mag.	Deacon, Jun., Sen. Soc.
Willm. Carden, Senr. Soc.	Joh. Davies, Soc." [1]

The parish of Altham was little, and its salary mean, yet it was the place God spied out for him. Coming there in the fulness of the Gospel of Christ, he was as life from the dead to many thereabouts, for it pleased God to own his first labours. [Here much of the record is lost, but by what remains it appears that—] Mr. Jolly and some well-affected members endeavoured to establish good order, and proceed according to the Scriptures, but were opposed by some who, though they saw it necessary, did themselves neglect and persecute the orderly proceedings of those men thus endeavouring,—so that they were not able to perfect what they intended. Upon this, those who are afterwards named were resolved to do something, and in order thereto, consulted with each other, but found themselves much at a loss what to do, because of some unhappy differences betwixt the Presbyterian and Congregational parties. Yet after due consultation and advice, they resolved to lay aside names, to practice what was plain, and behave as inoffensively as possible to all.

[1] The original certificate is now in possession of Mr. Henry Gray, Leicester Square, London. The above copy is not quite correct, William Carden should be Will' Croyden, Deacon should be Decan, and Joh. Davies *Sen.* Soc.

The following particulars of Church Discipline were agreed to by the Minister and People meeting at Altham :—

"1st.—We resolve not to approve ourselves to men by affecting terms of difference amongst God's people, as Presbyterian and Independent, but purely to approve our hearts and ways to God, by living up to the rule of the Word of God, consulting with men so far as we can be convinced they walk according to this rule.

"2nd.—We profess we cannot (the state of the country being such) freely apply ourselves to neighbouring congregations for direction or succour. But we shall not spare to desire, and hitherto have not been wanting in asking, the advice of God's faithful ones, that are ruled by a gracious spirit, and whose care is to act according to a well-guided judgment. Secondly, more particularly concerning the condition of this particular Church, we look upon it to be very sad, by reason of corruption and disorder that is therein ; and bewailing this, do resolve that we will not spare to use any means for the reformation thereof. Concerning this reformation, we judge this to be the way, that having called forth men of knowledge, piety, and ability to be ruling Elders, and assist our Pastor in regulating the affairs of God's House, and always be ready to encourage any that wish to give an account of their fitness, and accordingly confirming them if worthy, or refusing them and withdrawing from them if unworthy.

"3rd.—Concerning them that are worthy we thus apprehend, that they only are worthy that are Saints visible to the eye of rational charity, or such as, professing faith and repentance, live not in the neglect of any Christian duty or in commission of any known notorious sin ; having such a measure of knowledge as to lead Christ into the soul, and the soul to Christ.

"4th.—Concerning admission by Baptism, we cannot understand that the children of such as are not members of the Church, and will not submit to the ordinances and ways of Christ, have any right to this ordinance, unless their predecessors that are worthy will covenant for them, and engage they shall be educated in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

"5th.—If any from neighbouring Congregations be willing to come into our communion and be duly qualified, we judge they may be received, provided there be sufficient reasons for their quitting the said

congregations, and they promise to walk with us, submit to censure, and as they have opportunity join with us in all ordinances.

"6th.—Concerning the unworthy, we will admonish them as we have opportunity; if they apply to us we will suspend them, and withdraw ourselves from them, till they are fit. Yet we will not suspend our care of them if willing, and in case of ignorance or scandal we will instruct and advise them.

"7th.—We do determine, in cases of special doubt, difficulty, and importance, not to act without the advice and consent of our ablest brethren; and in cases of an inferior nature, we shall be forward to acquaint them with our proceedings.

"8th.—We do esteem it as very requisite that at the confirmation and recovery of any member, the Pastor shall urge them to humiliation for and against such sins as have degraded the Church of God from its first purity, and that we shall lay before them the main duties that concern them in Church relation. Upon acknowledgment and resolution in the practice of them, with mutual consent and full agreement they are to be embraced as brethren.

"9th.—It being the practice of the Church in all ages, in case of corruption and apostacy, to renew their covenant with God, which was their main care in the Reformation, we therefore conceive it necessary that a day be set apart for Humiliation, and all who are willing to join in this Society shall openly renew and own that Covenant they entered into at their baptism, in which they shall assent to the Fundamentals of faith; acknowledge the Lord to be their God, Christ to be their only Redeemer to save and rule in them, and declare their resolution to be faithful in their covenant to the end of their lives. Concerning their special communion with this Society of God's People, they are to submit one to another in all humility and love, as God requires of Christians one towards another, and also to submit themselves to those who are over them in the Lord with all reverential obedience, according to the Gospel.

"10th.—At the admission of any child by baptism, it is to be required that the parent, or who undertakes for the child as their own, shall not only promise the good education of the child, but covenant in behalf of it to do the things required at the admission of Members, and that the child when it comes at the years of discretion shall confirm this covenant or be refused.

"11th.—According to the practice of the Apostles, and for the conveniency of this Church in particular, we purpose to select one from amongst us who shall perform the office of a Deacon, to serve the table of the Lord and relieve the poor.

"12th.—It is judged fit, according to the Gospel, that children of such as are received, being come to years of discretion, shall manifest their faith and repentance, and renew their covenant before God, and testify their concern with this Church of God, in the ways and ordinances of Christ, according to Church agreement, and so doing shall be received; but if they refuse and be found wanting, they shall be suspended till they appear to be fit or scandalously offensive, that in that case they may be received, and in this refused."

These were called the Church's Swaddling-bands.

On the 13th of June, 1651, they [the Church Society] met to humble themselves before God for former breach of covenant, and to beg God's gracious acceptance and blessing; and in the close of the day solemnly gave up themselves as follows, viz.:—

"We whose names are underwritten do here, in the presence of God, solemnly own and avouch that covenant we entered into at our baptism, wherein we do assent to the fundamentals of faith, and acknowledge the Lord to be ours, and Christ to be our only Redeemer to rule and save us, and declare our resolution, through His grace, to be faithful to this covenant to the end of our lives. We further do, in the presence of God, agree and promise in all humility one to another, and all unto God, in the duties He requires one towards another; yielding ourselves to them that are over us in the Lord in all reverential obedience according to the Gospel.

"Thomas, Jolly, Pastor.
Robert Cunliffe, J. Waddington, John Hey, Ruling Elders.
Richard Lawson, Deacon.

Otwell Haworth.	Joan Shuttleworth.
Thomas Grimshaw.	Jane Crombock.
Richard Lawson.	Hannah Hammond.
John Harwood.	Elizabeth Waddington.
Robert Hammond.	Elizabeth Halstead.
Richard Ellison.	Elizabeth Smith.
Richard Waddington.	Elizabeth Atkinson.

William Sellers.
John Atkinson.
Edward Mercer.

Alice Lawson.
Mary Padyson.
Joane Morris.
Ann Waddington.
Alice Roberts.
Elizabeth Halstead the Elder.
Grace Riley.

Of the State of this Church from 1651 to Bartholomew's Day, 1662.

1651. In the beginning of October, 1651, the Pastor was blessed with a most excellent wife.

1652. In November, 1652, Minister and People thought fit to seek the right hand of fellowship with sister Churches, and to this end made application to the Church of Christ at Walmsley by letter, in which several things are noticed, as that the Day Spring from on high had visited them [with other pious expressions], and that they looked upon it as a blessing that their lots were cast so near one another, that they might be enabled to join against the Canaanites, &c. Also desired to have communion with them, and to be received into their bosom. It was signed by the Pastor and Elders.

The Church at Walmsley returned the following letter, but [here] somewhat abbreviated: — "That they rejoiced at the appearance of God amongst them, but before they could return a decisive answer would premise a few things. First, that they could not judge it according to rule for a Pastor to accept a call to be pastor from any other than the Church whom he is to be over; every voluntary relation being founded in the mutual consent of parties related. [Second.] We also cannot judge it according to a right rule for any number of persons to join themselves together and enter into church relation without calling in the assistance and desiring the presence of neighbouring

Churches, that no one may have reason to upbraid them, but to witness of the truth. [Third.] They also wanted a third thing, viz., a Confession of their faith, judging that every particular Society should be founded in such a confession as is Scriptural, because heresies abound. They desired us therefore to write our confession of faith and sign it and send it to them, and then they would give us the right hand of fellowship. Signed, 5th December, 1652, at Walmsley, in the presence of the Church, by Michael Briscoe, Pastor."

In a month after we sent our Confession of Faith to the Church at Walmsley, as also a letter in which we owned we could not clear everything in the Pastor's call, but acknowledge our ends were right in meeting in church fellowship, and that our Pastor had undeniable seals of his ministry from God amongst us, and the essence of a true Call to his pastoral office. We confessed our mistake in not desiring the assistance of sister Churches in gathering ours, yet we did not neglect to take the advice of eminent persons, as Mr. Roots,[1] Mr. Marshall,[2] &c. Our Confession of Faith we also said we did not send as our opinion, but we trusted as the faith of the Gospel as taught by the Spirit.

[Then follows "The Confession of Faith agreed upon by the Church of Christ assembling at Altham, 1652," consisting of twelve Articles.]

1653. Several of both Churches had a meeting in April, 1653, and discoursed of several things; as, 1st, of taking use for money; 2nd, of matters for a Church—agreed it was only visible saints, holding forth faith and repentance to the eyes of rational charity; 3rd, that the pastoral office and relations were founded on the People's choice. The discourse about Ordination was dropped. In June, 1653, they came to a full closure.

This same year died the Pastor's Wife in childbed; she was a most excellent woman.

[1] Henry Roots, minister at Sowerby, Yorkshire.

[2] Christopher Marshall, ejected from Woodchurch, co. York.

December 4th, 1653. Died, Mr. Robert Cunliffe, Member of the High Court of Parliament, Justice of the Peace, and member of this Church. He valued himself more on the last account than the other, and first lived desired and died much lamented.[1]

1654, March 9th. The Church having waited three years for satisfaction from Prudence Riley, who had been convicted of lewd carriage and ill behaviour towards her husband; profaning the Lord's Day by carrying burdens; for being over familiar with bad persons; for censoriousness and ill temper against several in the Church; and last for her pride and self-conceit; after conviction, admonition, and suspension, it was agreed she should be excommunicated next Supper Day, unless she gave satisfaction in the meantime; but failing, the censure was pronounced in the following words:—"In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and of his Church, assembled in his name, I cast forth Prudence Riley out of the Church, and deliver her up to Satan, forbidding all religious communion with her, and all familiarity with her in other things, until she repent. THOMAS JOLLY, Pastor."

[John Harwood also was expelled for profanity and other sins, and Widow Smith was suspended for swearing, lying, &c.]

The Pastor going to London at the end of May, he found favour in the eyes of the Commissioners for the approbation of Ministers, who made use of him as an instrument to prevent corruptions.

This year a dispute betwixt him [Mr. Jollie] and Mr. Webster was begun and carried on in writing. Mr. Webster was an enthusiast, and had odd notions.

The Pastor's second wife died this year, October 11. Mrs. Shuttleworth [died] 8 November. She loved God's ministers, was a pattern of humility, in her last illness had strong consolations and a prophetic spirit.

1655. The Pastor's sister came to live with him, and got good to her soul.

[1] Of Sparth House; in 1653 represented the County in Parliament.

This year, being convinced that Minister and People did not enter into covenant in that solemn manner as was required; that they had come short of what was promised; being afflicted with the death of several of the most useful members, and under tokens of Divine dispensations; upon this they humbled themselves, and renewed their covenant on 20th July, using the following form:—

"We, the Elders, Brothers and Sisters of the Church assembling at Altham, do here in the presence of the Lord, in all reverence with our whole heart renew our covenant with him, engaging ourselves with hands lift up to Heaven that we through the assistance of His grace will for ever cleave to that confession of faith which we have assented to before, being drawn out of the Holy Scriptures, the rule of our faith and lives. We will also through the same grace (bewailing our breath of covenant), in more knowledge, faith, love, and obedience, take the Lord Jehovah in Jesus Christ to be our God, and Jesus Christ His Son to be our blessed King and Saviour, according to our covenant in baptism; devote ourselves in greater diligence and fidelity to perform the duties of our relations one to another and to all about us; and likewise to subject ourselves in all humility, according to the place God hath set us in, that in all things we may honour God and seek the good of the Society. Signed in the name of all by the Pastor, THOMAS JOLLY."

The Pastor went to London in August, and found favour in the sight of them in power.

On the absence of Mr. Briscoe from Walmsley, and the preaching of a brother of that Church, the Society wrote a very serious letter, in which they bewailed the want of a Minister, and desire that neighbouring Ministers be called in to prove the fitness of their Teacher for the work he takes in hand; that if he be fit he may be set apart according to the rule.

The Major General desiring the Officers and Brethren to make known their grievance, promising redress according to his power, the following letter was presented. [The points of the letter were these:—]

"(1.) Desire to be blessed with a Magistracy according to the Word, viz., just men fearing God and hating covetousness. (2.) That profane and heretical Ministers who fill most pulpits in the country may be purged out, and that good ones may preach in their room. (3.) That Sabbath breakers, swearers, drunkards, and unclean persons may be effectually stopt. (4.) That bad and inferior officers be put out, and good ones be put in their room. (5.) That seeing not one in twenty in many towns go to any place of worship on the Lord's Day, but sit in their houses, that care be taken to search them out. (6.) That the number of ale-houses be made fewer, and fit persons allowed. (7.) That fairs and markets be put off. (8.) That beggars who can work be made. (9.) That the enemies of pure administration be discontinued. (10.) That only the faithful may have leave to choose for a Minister in a vacancy."

Jennet Cunliffe, for keeping company with a Papist,[1] and promising him marriage against the advice of the Church founded on the Word of God, and insisting in it after admonitions, was cast out of communion in the ensuing form:—"I do, in the name and with the power of the Lord Jesus, and in the name of the people of God, cast out Jennet Cunliffe, out of the Church, and deliver her up to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."

1656. Mr. Webster dropt the controversy.

John Atkinson, for his unchristian language and carriage to his mother-in-law, was suspended from communion at the Lord's table, but restored on satisfaction given.

Robert Hammond, being drunk at Padiham Fair-day, gave satisfaction by a penitent confession of his sin in public.

John Bailey a wonderful child for a spirit of prayer, experimental discourse, and being the occasion of good to his father and a school-fellow.

No conversion work at Altham.

[1] Daughter of Robert Cunliffe. The papist was John Grimshaw of Clayton Hall, who she ultimately married.

Mr. Cunliffe's male issue extinct, and his estate likely to fall to a Papist.

This year Mr. Waddington got good to his soul, intimated in a letter from the College at Durham.

Richard Ellison admonished for the sin of railing and not keeping his children in order, was suspended awhile, but restored on satisfaction given.

Pastor's third wife died when his son Timothy was born.

Pastor had a serious letter from a brother in Dublin, who laboured for learning, grace, and experience to fit him for the Ministry, to which he would wait a call from man as well as God. He met with straits there. Also a letter from his Father, which shows him to be a man of experience, and it was a fit letter for those in trouble, particularly the case of the Pastor. Another from Mr. Marsden, at Kendal, to comfort him after the death of his wife, and shows the state of religion in that town.

This year the Pastor met with other Ministers and Brethren at Chesterfield and Wakefield, to concert ways and means to promote the purity, peace, and communion of their Churches in several counties, viz., Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. It was generally agreed that God was withdrawn; the causes were found out and the cure proposed. (See the collection of Papers, and what our Pastor fitted for the Press.) Next discoursed about communion of several churches, which we might commune with, and which not. Several propositions concerning Ministers' ordinations.

1658. This year our Pastor was at the General Meeting of Congregational Churches begun the 29th September, 1658, at [the] Savoy in London, and presented the papers of the churches about above-named. Preacht before them [the assembly] with acceptance, and found much of God's presence in the meeting, and of His grace in the management of matters from first to last.

1659. Widow Smith giving satisfaction was restored to full communion.

Matthias Taylor admonished for tongue sins by an Elder and three Brethren, triviall means being fruitless before. He seemed to yield, but still not really, which occasioned a day of humiliation by the Church. Soon after he confessed his faults, and sat down at the Lord's table.

A kind letter from Walmsley, in which they intimate their willingness to be advised.

The Pastor on having Invitations to Whalley had the following thoughts of the matter. First, he would not do it without the Church's consent and presence with him, nor unless it might be for their further edification. Second, That Mr. Moore be dealt with in a Christian-like manner, and persuaded to remove, as having no call to the Ministry, especially in that place. Third, he would not be persuaded to the place under the notion of a Vicar, but as a Gospel Minister to do that they were capable for him. Fourth, Desired no greater salary than at Altham, being willing to preach a Lecture if they added more. The Church at Altham were willing to let their Pastor go to Whalley on trial for a Vicar. [See p. xv.]

Prudence Riley restored to communion. John Harwood still unfit.

With reference to Officers in a communion, such as are called to rule or teach must excell in gifts for both offices, &c., must be set apart with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands, with a solemn charge after they are proved and chosen.

As to the children of believing parents, agreed that these are in the covenant; ought therefore to be devoted to God in baptism, brought up in this nurture, and when come to years must be persuaded to stand to the said covenant, &c.

Mr. Taylor preached his first sermon at Altham.

Nineteen Presbyterian and Congregational Ministers were present at a Meeting at Manchester, and came to a happy agreement with particulars, July 13, 1659. (See the Papers.)

Our Pastor had many sweet letters from his brother-in-law, yielding comfort and consolation under affliction, and desiring direction in gathering a Society.

1660. Richard Ellison was solemnly admonished for breaking and profaning the Sabbath, and not taking care to pay his debts; also neglecting his family.

This year some differences in the Society were happily composed. They related to joining the Presbyterians. The Paper was signed by the Officers and fourteen Brethren.

The Pastor being accused of seditious words, was taken, committed, and bailed. Mr. Banister hindered his keeping a Fast in the Publique Place [*i.e.* the Church]. Pastor one Lord's Day was kept out of the Meeting House, but preacht in the porch.

Old Thomas Grimshaw died, as full of grace and comfort as he could hold.

Elizabeth Halstead admonished for leaving her own communion and frequenting others too much.

[Other cases of church discipline upon unruly members are here registered.]

1661. The Pastor was cited to Chester, and had the Prayer Book tendered him. Was released by the death of two Bishops. Mr. Moore his presenter fell under contempt.

Mr. Walmesley ordered Langho Chapel to be shut up.[1]

Having humbled themselves (but two or three necessarily detained), renewed their covenant, September 22, 1661, just before the Lord's Supper. The form much the same as before; only bind themselves more closely to keep the Commandments of God, renouncing with abhorrence those of men.

1662. The Church of Walmsley being sadly deviated and neglected ordinances, this sent a most pathetical Letter to them, to persuade them to unite and pursue the ends of their covenant.

Upon the last Sabbath in the Publique Place, all were satisfied that neither censure in the Bishop's Court, nor Act of Parliament, did discharge the Pastor from his office, or any duty thereof. Resolved unanimously to continue in church relation and keep up communion. Some were to direct after what manner, and

[1] The Walmesleys of Dunkenhalgh were Roman Catholics, and about this time got possession of the chapel.

concluded not to teach with the Public, but to meet if possible on the Sabbath. That the losses of one shall be borne in common. That none meet with us but on consent of the rest, or of the most concerned.

James Hindle, being guilty of drunkenness and bewailing his sin, was admonished, &c.

August 24, 1662, Mr. Yates was admonished by letter for neglecting the communion ; desiring a dismission without naming any Society ; persisting after prudent endeavours to reclaim him.

What number gave themselves to the Lord and each other while meeting at Altham cannot be known, because the Register does not shew what year persons came into communion ; but one may guess that to the first 29 were added 11 men and 21 women ; in all 61 from the beginning.

The Names of those added to the 29.

Nicholas Titherington.	Prudence Riley.	Rachel Halstead, Widow
Matthias Taylor.	Alice Taylor.	Ellen Whittle.
James Hindle.	Mary Riley.	Ann Chadwick.
William Yates.	Alice Grimshaw.	Jane Morris.
John Key.	Jennet Cunliffe.	Isabel Astley.
Henry Chadwick.	Jane Dewhurst.	Margaret Mitchell.
Thomas Bailey.	Elizabeth Haworth.	Alice Jolly.
Abraham Howarth.	Elizabeth Bolton.	Ann Taylor (Billington.)
Richard Chew.	Gerthred Key.	Ann Yates.
	Rebecca Jolly.	

Of the State of the Church from the Ejectment in 1662 to the Indulgence in 1672.

1662. The Pastor broke up house. Was mercifully freed from the Spiritual Court. Kept himself private. A worldly

professor lapsed. Colonel Nowell refused to persecute the Pastor, saying :—"He's better than the old Priest." A professor who had used hard speeches against ministers was visited with a sore mouth and confessed his sin.

1663. Mr. Yates, being guilty of apostacy, had a serious admonition sent by letter. (See the Register.) Pastor's son Samuel wrought on. Pastor was prisioner twice this year, and used badly the first time. His persecutors died sadly. One Shore died oddly (a warning to all declining professors); haunted with evil spirits, &c. James Hindle taking offence, and quitting communion, was admonisht. Agreed that Mr. Yates be admonished again for his obstinacy. Minister and People resolved that they would not comply with the way of worship used in Public, as being neither commanded of God nor urged in His way. Resolved rather to keep their meeting in private houses, though forbid by law. Agreed of severall fundamental rules about meeting thus, that might not too much offend man or oppose themselves. Mr. Richard Chew died this year; a man very much noted for good parts, but his profession not so bright towards the end, nor had he much comfort in spirit at last. In July renewed covenant.

1664, February. The Pastor was taken at Richard Ingham's and carried to Lancaster. (In prison several months.) Found favour and had much liberty. Jailor kind. After some time got clear.

1665. Susan Mitchell admonished. Consented to receive communion (occasionally) the truly godly of other persuasions, though they came not up to their length in Church order. Pastor was again seized and released. Lady Houghton kept two days of prayer every month for a long time, and Pastor was much there. Mr. Martin's letter, in which, beside privacy [*i.e.* private matters], some thoughts on his relation to his people. A letter from Mr. Samuel Mather, of Dublin. The Pastor, in two Manuscripts, cleared Dissenters of the charge of schism, and offered reason against joining in the Common Prayer.

1666. Mr. Briscoe and Mr. Yates of Warrington, being convened by the Church. Resolved to withdraw from J. Hindle unless he came to give satisfaction in a fortnight, and also from Mr. Yates unless he would come and bring two persons such as the Church approves. Respect was had to Mrs. Yates; she being sorry at her husband's carriage, is desired to come to Meeting. Mr. Yates came to Meeting; profest he was sorry at his manner of carriage to the Church, and cast himself on the advice of the two reverend Ministers above. The Church resolved to wait and know their advice. James Hindle was withdrawn from them because of his want of regard to the Covenant. The Society met in an Alehouse and were preserved. Pastor's Father died. Church work at Walmsley little mended. A warrant against the Pastor miscarried. He preached to the Anabaptists, or Dippers, being encouraged thereto by Mr. Newcome.

1667. Pastor bought Wymond-Houses and removed his goods thither. Preacht at one time to two women only. Was taken at Altham and ill used at Preston. Mr. Thomas Hammond, a brother and a very good man, was killed by a fall from his horse.

1668. Consented to let the orderly Brethren of Walmsley join with this Society occasionally. Mr. Yates quarrelled with some doctrine the Pastor delivered; wisht things might not be recorded in the Church Book, and desired his dismission. His letter was fully answered. (See the Register.)

1669. Nothing in the Register this year. (Pastor in prison most of the year.)

1670. Mr. John Bayley was solemnly set apart for the work of the Ministry. For admonishing Lady Houghton for leaving her husband he lost a friend. Otwell Haworth died; was great in grace and gifts; a stout champion and brave man. Alas! Brother Mr. Key's [of Walmsley Chapel] ordination was perfected with much ado; the certificate under the hands of Pastor and Mr. Priestley [? Astley]. Pastor's eldest Son fell ill in London, and died on his way home at Warrington; before his death

bewailed several sins, but poured out a flood of choice matter in his last minutes. He was a young man of great hopes. There is a letter from him under his illness, and one from Mr. Gale, very suitable for dying persons who are not over ready. Pastor writ a plain letter to Mr. Waddington, of Whalley, suitable to dying persons. In a letter from Mr. Bailey, the state of Churches in Dublin and Limerick is described; his pensive thoughts about marrying.

State of the Church from 1672 to 1680.

1672. Now the Churches had rest, and four places were licensed for this society. [Church discipline upon three members for specified improprieties of conduct.] Charles Riley dreaming the Pastor preacht on Romans, 10 chap. and 16 verse, came to hear him, and found the same text and sermon he thought he had heard before, which affected him much, that he came ever after to hear him. That dream prevented him going to hear Mr. Parr, of Darwen. Mr. Bayley's Letter of his going to Limerick.

1673. Pastor's son Timothy went to Rathmel [Academy]. Thomas Bayley, that brave Christian, died; few like minded with him; funeral text, Psalm 37 and 37 verse. J. Hey died; was a faithful, spiritual, and useful member, particularly to the Pastor when seized at Slade near Padiham by Major Nowell. John Hammond, son of religious parents, made some profession, and came to Meeting in time of liberty; writ sermons and was affected, till marrying a second time, his wife became a hindrance in religion to him, and he fell into vain company, drunkenness, and dishonesty. Thus he continued until God budged up his way by a distemper, under which he professed repentance, but recovering, he sinned again till he was seized by a fever. On the fourth day he fell into a trance, and lay speechless an hour.

When he came out, he said he had been before the Bar of God, and had received his final sentence of eternal damnation. Nothing that was said to him was of any avail; he bade good people let him alone; his glass was almost run; would not suffer any one to pray with or for him; said he deserved the doom for deceitful dealing with God and man; bade all take heed by his example. Thus he continued 24 hours, being distracted and delirious, and then died.

1674. [Jane Dewhurst under discipline, and Richard Ellison expelled from communion.] Mr. Yates' wife dismissed to Mr. Hervey and his Society; John Kenyon also to Mr. Taylor and Mr. Mather's Church in Dublin. At several meetings the Pastor and People considered the ground of their separation.

1675. Pastor went to London, and found favour with Dr. Owen. Alexander Brears died with great comfort. Mr. Waddington and Abraham Haworth ordained Elders, and Richard Ingham Deacon. (See the manner in Register.) Mr. Brears gives an account of taxes; condoles Pastor on the death of his wife. Mr. Bayley sends us a letter in which he expresses his hearty love for this Society.

1676. The Society consented to Craven Society joining them occasionally. James Whitaker admonished.

1677. Particular notice taken of the Church's prosperity, being grown up and hopeful. Rebecca Lawson retired, and Mrs. Crombock. Pastor preacht ten times in eight days. At a meeting, found there was a want of spiritual communion; resolved to amend this. Found also that solemn days are not properly observed; promised to keep them better. [Three members admonished for neglect of ordinances.] Mr. Waddington desired to preach for trial. [The Society] agreed to forgive debts owing by indigent Brethren, and to relieve them; did so to J. Whittaker and J. Hindle.

1678. Several Brethren under admonition, suspending themselves from the Lord's Table. The Church, at a meeting of all the Members, were fully satisfied of their duty, and resolved to

pursue it, to the glory of God and the good of others; and desired any of their communion who joined in Public [*i.e.*, attended worship at the Established Church] to come and give satisfaction. An attempt to heal differences betwixt Mr. Whithurst and some of his People, of Bradford-Dale; to put an end to the same, be quit. Antinomian tenets, I suppose. (See the Minutes.)

1679. [J. Hindle, J. Whitaker, Nicholas Waddington, and Prudence Riley under admonition.] James Read in a dying condition, and desiring to be releast. The Church agreed that Pastor and an Elder should take his confession.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH FROM 1680 TO 1712.

1680. Pastor's son Timothy called to Sheffield. Isabel Waddington died comfortably; text at her Funeral, Psalm 119, verse 92.

1681. J. Hindle, for drunkenness, &c., cast out. This year, on the 28th of April, Mr. Timothy Jolly was ordained by four Ministers. Had preacht a year in London, and a year at Sheffield as a candidate. In the evening he was chosen Pastor and consented. Mr. Waddington was not ordained when expected, from Ministers and People failing; but done afterwards honourably. Mr. Key's matter was stated now. A pious letter from Mr. Adams, in New England, relating to the times.

1682. Another letter from the same, giving an account of the Comet seen there. Mr. J. [John] Jolly died this year. He was an active servant of Christ; ill one evening and died the next. Mr. Timothy Jolly prisoner at York; Mr. Sager [prisoner] at Lancaster. Pastor had an earnest call to Topcliff. Mr. Key's matter very bad. Barn at Wymond-houses fell; servant and cattle just come out. The Study was on fire. Mr. Yates's sermon set in a cloud.

1683. The Officers, &c., of this Church resolved to continue their profession and practice, though times be ever so bad. John

Waddington, Elder, admonished for omission of duty, when he promised amendment. The Church agreed that the children of godly parents should be baptized, though they were not proper for communion. Some of the [members of the] Church maintaining occasional communion with the Church of England, it was judged a matter of offence. Agreed to meet as usual, and to assist families to do so. We will bear losses in common for profession. Pastor had a second Call to Topcliff; the answer is in the old Church Book. [Three members were expelled for serious offences of conduct.] The Pastor's Mother was admitted, but scrupled some things, which was allowed.

1684. Mr. Key admonished. Mr. Briscoe died. James Smith died suddenly.

1685. A Sister admonished for sitting down in Public.

1686. Pastor's brother [Adam] Martindale died. Cousin Samuel Jolly married; a good minister, wanting success, kept days of prayer in an old tree, and was much owned afterwards.

1687. This year Religious Liberty. Mr. [Charles] Sager ordained. Mr. Issit [of Craven] died. Mr. and Mrs. Sager dismissed to Walmsley. Pastor had a Call to Kendal; the answer is in the Church Book; in which Book is also an account of what liberty was allowed to Dissenters.

1688. Pastor's reasons why he would not give an account of his sufferings to the Church, and why he would not have Test, &c., taken off. (See Minutes; a Paper of Minister's sufferings in twenty years; Reasons for addressing King James upon the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.) A letter from Mr. Bailey, of New England; how matters were there. The Papers of reformation and reunion offered to the Ministry in the County by Pastor, &c. Chappel at Wymond-houses begun to build, and finished. Pastor's Mother, Daughter-in-law, and Son died in a few weeks. Mr. J.[1] Jolly was ordained; oddly managed, but,

[1] Was this James, eldest son of John? It could not be his son John, as he was not ordained until *1698*.

because of some things, Mr. Sager and Pastor would not lay hands on. Dugdale's case. Nicholas Waddington released.

1689. Wymond-houses and Sparth licensed. (The Licenses are pinned to Manuscripts.)

1690. Pastor's sister[1] and her son Samuel died. Mr. N. Mather's letter about union. Meeting for union at Rathmel. Mr. Noble's letter for union ; another on the same.

1691. Mr. John Jolly came into the country; Ingham, Baron, and Howarth also. Mr. Cockshutt died this year. John Benson, a hopeful scholar, was baptized at Wymond-houses. The duties of persons in common, &c. (See Church Book.) A Paper of meeting of Ministers in Preston and Lancaster about Mr. Aspinall and Mr. Waddington's case. Letters from Mr. N. Mather ; from Mr. Noble ; from Mr. Mead. Heads of Union, approved at London. Several other Papers of that matter. Agreement at Bristol. A letter from Manchester Ministers about this. A letter of agreement betwixt Mr. Frankland and Mr. Jolly. A circular Letter for recognition and union. "Midnight Cry."

1692. Mr. Crossley dealt unfairly with Pastor, Mr. Frankland, &c. Young Mr. Sager ordained. Meeting begun at Clitheroe. Matters agreed at Darwen. (See Church Book.) Dugdale's Case called over. (See the prints.) Minutes of a General Meeting. Manuscript of one at Bolton. A letter of Mr. Jackson of Penrith. Mr. Noble's letter about the Union. A Paper of a Meeting of Ministers in Lancaster. A Paper upon the heads of agreement of Sects of Professors. [Pastor] again preacht about administering the Lord's Supper. License for a Meeting in Clitheroe. Proposal for a General Meeting of Ministers. Some account of the life of Mr. James Jolly.

1693. A Meeting of Ministers in Bolton. (Manuscript.) "A Call to Prayer." (Manuscript.) Ministers' Meeting at Blackburn. Agreement betwixt Mr. Frankland and Mr. Jolly. Heads

[1] She died May, 1691.

of agreement further improved at a General Meeting in Manchester.

1694. General Meeting in Bolton. (Manuscript.) A letter from Dr. Annest; another from Mr. Mead, of difference, &c. The right administration of the Lord's Supper. (Manuscript.)

1695. Jonathan Hey died. John Hey's last Will. Mr. Mead's letter. Mr. Cutt's letter. Minutes of the Meeting in Warrington. A letter from Mr. Frankland; our Pastor's answer. The case of Mr. Carrington and his people. Mr. Rothwell's case at Bispham. John Jolly examined.

1696. September 29th, John Jolly [Pastor's nephew] examined at Whittingham, and approved. Ordained November 11th, at New Chappell [*i.e.* Wymond-houses]. Testimonial in Manuscript. A letter from Ministers in the County [Lancashire] to them in London [inviting them] to write. Sparth saved from fire. Mr. Sager badly. Mr. Leigh saved strangely at the Mill.

1697. Mr. Tumley raised up to save Sparth. Letter from Mr. [Oliver] Heywood; other two from the same. Mr. Thornley ordained. Samuel Hey cast out.

1698. Mr. Frankland and Mr. [John] Houghton died. Nehemiah Hindle censured. A Paper of a Meeting of Ministers at Manchester. Of several lesser meetings at Blackburn, &c. An Address to the Poor of this Church, and to Ministers in Yorkshire. Evans' Poem on Mr. Frankland's death. Pastor's letter about reforming Churches or Congregations. Two letters from Mr. Oliver Heywood. [Pastor] at a Meeting of Ministers in Lancaster. Thanked Earl of Mansfield. Mr. Jolly's Servant corresponds with Mr. Williams, of London. State of Congregations in Preston examined, and reformation Lectures set up.

1699. Pastor badly; Son sent for. Mr. Griffith's Ordination, June 24th.

1700. Finding decays in the Society, after a day of humiliation, renewed Covenant. (See Church Book.) Mr. Waddington dismissed to Tockholes. Margaret's breast cut. Mr. Carring-

ton's death. Pastor's last journey to Sheffield. Mr. Eaton's Manuscript. Papers about division in Craven. (Manuscripts.) The case of observing Christmas. (See Church Book.) John Hargreaves' dismission.

1701. About Elders and Deacons. Lady Williams' Gift. Mr. Timothy Jolly wonderfully recovered. Mr. Oliver Heywood deceased. Mr. Gillibrand and Mr. Hesketh ordained. Matters ended betwixt Towers and Tattersall (Manuscript.) John Yates died.

1702. Mistress Houghton died. Priscilla Whalley excommunicated. (See Church Book.) Supply voted for Mr. Hoole. Paper about a reformation of manners. Dr. Whitaker's last Will. Endeavours to heal Darwen Congregation.

1703. Pastor died March 14th, 1702–3. (See his Life and Character in Sermon Book—Manuscript.) John Jolly chosen Pastor in his stead, August, 1703. The Paper signed. (Manuscript.) Mr. Leech's letter on cousin's [Reverend Timothy Jolly's] Sermon at his Father's death. Mr. Nightingale's call to Elswick. (Manuscript.) "The Penitent's Confession." (Manuscript.)

1704. Pastor [Mr. John Jollie] had trouble in Pilkington's matter.

1705. Paper of Mr. Nightingale's case ; his death.

1706. Lawrence Robertshaw dismissed to London. (Manuscript.) A letter from Mr. Bradbury. A letter in Latin from cousin Thomas.

1707. Mr. Samuel Smith added, and Mary Hindle. Mr. Smith's account of his soul before admission. Grace Duckworth died.

1708. Renewed Covenant as solemnly as we could. (See Form in Church Book) [headed—"The Form of Covenant which was owned by the Church, May 2nd, 1708]. Mr. Tumley died this year. Cousin Jolly's wife's death.[1] John Livesey's also.

[1] Mrs. Timothy Jolly.

1709. Thirteen added to communion this year. Widow Eastwood mercifully came to Sparth this year. A kind letter from Mr. Smith in Yorkshire. Cousin Thomas,—good letter from London. Samuel Hey's confession. Cousin's letter from Norfolk. Mr. Robert Whitaker's letter. Another of cousin Jolly's from London. Mr. Cooper's letter.

1710. Only James Holden added this year. Sir Chas: [? Sir Charles Hoghton, an eminent Nonconformist] died ; cloak, ring. Mr. Cooper called to London. Cousin Thomas's letter.

1711. Two added in July. Mrs. Catterall died. In May a solemn Humiliation Day at Wymond-houses. Owned Covenant standing there and at Sparth. The Names of the Members of the Society, September 21st, 1711 :—

John Jolly, Pastor.
John Houlker, Jerh. Waddington, Elders.
Henry Chadwick, Richard Tumley, Deacons.

Thomas Haworth.
John Birch.
James Towers.
James Whittaker.
Alexander Towers.
Lawrence Robertshaw.
George Lang.
James Holden.
Widow Eastwood.
Mary Atkinson.
Ellen Towers.
Ann Aspden.
Elizabeth (was Jolly) wife of one Smalley.
Henry Haworth's wife.
Isabel (was Parker).
Ann Birch.
Elizabeth Wilson.
J. Sellers' Wife.
Christr. Tattersall.
William Birch.
Thomas Towers.
John Birch, jun.
William Hargreaves.
Roger Aspinall.
Randal Sharples.
Robert Houlker.
Widow Pilling.
Ann Towers.
Margaret Barton.
Isabel Eddleston (Servant Maid at Holden).
Mary Ward, jun.
Grace Chadwick.
Sarah Leech.
Jane Hindle.
William Duckworth's Wife.
Thomas Heys.
William Barton.
John Sellers.
William Birch.
James Fisher.
Edmund Winder.
William Bolton.
Mary Hindle.
Ellen Fisher.
Grace Barton.
Dickinson's Wife.
Widow Leigh.
Bridget Heys.
Mrs. Duxbury.

1713. Henry Wood, Robert Key, and James Westall were added to the Society. In the same year, December 5th, Henry Chadwick and Thomas Haworth were chosen Elders, and Christopher Tattersall, Thomas Heys, and Robert Aspinall were chosen Deacons. Friday, December 11th, in the same year, they were ordained at Wymond-Houses by the Pastor and the Rev. Mr. Hesketh.

1713–14. January 17th. Roger Aspinall and Robert Heys' wife were taken into communion at Sparth. January 25th, Pastor was married to Rebecca Livesey (Widow), at New Church in Pendle Forest, by Thomas Ellis, Curate. The banns were first published at Colne, of which he had the following testimonial :—"*Banna sponsatea inter Joannem Jolly, Ministreum Nonconformum et Rebecca Livesey, Viduam, ambo de Clayton-le-More in parochiali de Coln* [*sic*] *nemine contradicente, ita testor Joannes Barlow curatus de Coln, vicessimo quarto die Januarij, anno ab Christo in carne exhibito milessimo septagintessimo decimo tertio.*" But before this, on the 6th of the same month, he [Pastor] had the consent of the Church and their advice to marry.

1714. June 20th. Thomas Roberts, Richard Lawson, and John Tipping were admitted into communion at Wymond-Houses.

1714–15. January 16th. John Dobson was admitted at Sparth. February 20th. Nicholas Edleston, William Rothwell, and Ann Smith were admitted into the Society at Sparth. Mary Sellers came into communion at Wymond-Houses.

1715. May 1st. Isabel Heys and Thomas Parr's wife were admitted into communion at Wymond-Houses. June 5th. Mary Wilkinson, Widow, was admitted at Sparth.

1716. April 8th. Young Nicholas Edleston and his wife came into communion at Sparth. July. William Hopper came into communion at Wymond-Houses.

1717. April 9th. Henry Chadwick, the oldest member and ruling Elder in the Church, departed in the faith. He had just entered his 88th year. It pleased God to call him effectually by

my unkle's ministry soon after his coming into the country. The occasion of his going first to hear him was something odd, viz., only to find a hatband he had lost. Another person had found it who went that way. God met him in the Word preached that day. He was a sober and orderly walker from his conversion to the last; a constant attender on public ordinances and private meetings as long as he was able. Thus through grace he lived and died. May 5th. Abraham Haworth and Mary Cottam came into communion at Sparth.

1717–18. March 18th. At Sparth was admitted Elizabeth Hargreaves of Burnley.

1718. May 11th. I dismissed Mr. Samuel Smith from us to the Church at Hemmington near Sheffield, Yorkshire, where he has preached several years and is shortly to be made Pastor. June 1st. Ralph Rushton and Widow Ellison admitted at Sparth.

1719. April 24. Thomas Heys of Bashall in Yorkshire departed this life. He was a communicant with the Church in Bowland, and afterwards 27 years a member with us. He was a loving husband, a good father, and master in a numerous family. He was for many years a peaceable and useful member. Whilst he lived we had many days of prayer and thanksgiving at his place of residence. He was charitable to the poor where he dwelt. By his instrumentality we procured from his brother at London many Bibles, catechisms, and good books, as also large sums of money for teaching poor children, cloathing, &c. At the latter end of his time he was Deacon in the Church, and still studied what was for the good of the Minister and People of our poor country. In a word, as he lived desired, so he died lamented. He was interred at Waddington on the 29th. Many tears were shed on his account. He is a sore missed man. I preached a sermon for him, May 11th, on a text he left (Lam's ch. iii. v. 24); and another at Sparth, May 18, on Psalm xii. v. 1 and 2. Richard Dewhurst of Blackburn died some time before. August 1st. At Sparth, admitted Ralph Ellison married;

Edmund Winder. William Milner sat down with us. In August our daughter Burges sat down with us at the Lord's Table at Sparth.

1719. At the beginning of September this year, died Roger Aspinall's wife; she was a peaceable, diligent, charitable Christian in the Society and amongst her neighbours. Jeremiah Hindle's wife, of the Congregation, died at the end of June; a good woman. Then about died Robert Towers, one of the Congregation at Wymond-Houses, who carried well to all, as I hear. August 5th. Our son [son-in-law] John Livesey married to Margaret, the daughter of John Hamar, of Bradshaw. He brought her to Ringstonehaugh September after. In May I had more bodily distemper than ever since I came into this country, besides great disorders in my head, but removed through mercy in several weeks. In the beginning of November died Ellen Towers, a widow and a good Christian. Agnes Birch admitted at Wymond-Houses this year.

1720. Isabel Edelston died in April, and left a good report. Old Harry Rosthorne died April 24th, a man of good gift and sincere. Catherine Smalley, of Blackburn, died at the end of May; had been a diligent, active Christian most of her time, but confined to her bed a year and a half. June 5th. John Holker died; he had been Elder (elect) many years; was a peaceable Church member, and was as constant as any on Lord's Days and other days, as usually the first at place of meeting. I and the Society sustain an unspeakable loss in his death.

My wife and I with brother Thomas and our daughter left Ringstonehaugh at Martinmas, 1719, and came to Oakenshaw. "Thou knowest our wanderings; we are strangers on earth, and sojourners, as all our fathers were."

[Here follows "An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. John Jolly's Wife," which begins:] "November 17th, 1720. My dear Wife departed this life, to whose memory I owe the following." [The memorial is lengthy, and contains details too private for publication. A few extracted items respecting her

family and chief events in her history may be of interest:[1]] Rebecca Grimshaw was born at Oakenshaw, in Clayton-le-Moors, Candlemass, 1666, of an ancient family, that had enjoyed an estate above 330 years, as appears from old writings, but how long before we cannot tell. The said family, beside this estate, had others considerable, and were reputed greatly; they were related to the Grimshaws of Clayton Hall, bearing the same arms. She was the eldest daughter of Thomas and Isabel Grimshaw. After she grew up, she went to hear the most famous preachers in the Church of England, with a design to edify her soul. Once, going to Whalley Church to hear the anniversary sermon for Sir Ralph Asheton, she got wet; this brought a great cold and sore illness; this was when she was about 19 or 20 years old. While she was badly, Agnes Cottam, a neighbour, came to see her, and told her that old Mr. Jolly would preach at Altham on such a day. This was the beginning of the "Liberty." She went, and liked the sermon well. Some weeks after, she went to hear Mr. Jolly at Wymond-Houses. She continued under old Mr. Jolly's ministry, and was soon after taken into communion by Mr. Jolly, with her parents' consent. She received an offer of marriage from Mr. John Livesey, a neighbour. When both of them were in their 30th year (about 1696) they were married. They had issue two sons and two daughters in ten years. Her husband, John Livesey, died May 19th, 1708. January 1st, 1712–13, Mr. John Jolly went to reside at her house, and a year after, January 25th, 1713–14, they were married. That year they resided at Ringstonehalgh. Her going to Bolton to be with her son Samuel was thought to be the cause of her fatal illness. She was taken ill whilst at Bolton. She returned home, and died a fortnight afterwards, on Thursday, November 17th, 1720. Before her death she gave directions respecting her affairs, and desired her husband, Mr. Jolly, being unfit for housekeeping, to live with her brother Thomas Grimshaw, at Oakenshaw. She spoke of her children by her first

[1] Printed in full in *Lanc. and Ches. Local Notes*, vol. i.

marriage, Rebecca (Mrs. Burgess[1]), Dorothy, Thomas, and John Livesey. "She had a Christian interment in her first husband's grave, as she had desired." Mr. John Jolly preached a funeral sermon for his wife, at Sparth, November 27th, and Mr. Burgess, her son-in-law, also preached.

1721. August. John Birch's (senr.) wife departed this life. She was his third wife, the daughter of Mr. Caterall of Pendleton; she first married one Law. September. Died Henry Haworth, Accrington. October. William Birch died, and at the beginning of the year his wife and mother-in-law had died in a few days. His death weakens my hands and troubles my heart. November 15th. John Harrison, wife, and daughter were admitted to communion at Wymond-Houses, which is some reviving. This year I took an account of the names of men and women in Society, because of late we are much reduced.

John Jolly, Pastor.	Mary Haworth.
John Haworth, Elder.	Thos. Hawes his Wife.
Christr. Tattersall.	Alice, was Haworth.
John Birch, Senr.	Alice Haworth (dead).
William Hargreaves.	Ann Barnes.
Joseph Holker.	H. Rosthorn's Wife.
Edmund Winder.	Old Widow Duckworth.
Randle Sharples.	Lydia Riley.
William Bolton.	Lydia Duckworth.
James Holker.	Ann Walkden.
Samuel Lawson.	Jane Whitehead.
Henry Rosthorn.	Catherine Swelby.
John Dobson.	Widow Pilling.
John Harrison.	Mary Hindle.
Henry Woods.	Mary Atkinson.
Robert Key.	Ann (now) Holker.

[1] James Burgess married Rebecca Livesey; he was minister at Darwen and afterwards at Greenacres Chapel. He died at Hey, near Oldham *ante* 1775. In 1777 there was living in Salford a Livesey Burgess, probably a son of the above. Another son was James Burgess, minister at Hall Fold, near Rochdale.

James Towers.
Thomas Towers.
John Sellers.
John Birch, Junr.
William Barton.
Alexander Towers.
James Westall.
Thomas Roberts.
John Tipping.
John Dobson, Junr.
Nicholas Edleston, Junr.
William Stapper.
Abraham Haworth.
Ralph Rushton.
Ralph Ellison.
William Milner.
George Westall.
34 Men.[1]

Bridget Towers.
Margaret Barton.
Grace Barton.
Grace Haworth.
A Scotch Woman.
Rebecca Holker.
My Sister Elizabeth Jolly.
Grace Chadwick.
Sarah Leech.
Bridget Heys.
Elizabeth Wilson.
Jane Hindle.
John Sellers' Wife.
Ann Smith.
Mary Sellers.
Isabella Heys.
Thos. Parr's Wife.
M. Wilkinson, Widow.
N. Edleston's Wife.
Mary Cottam.
Elizabeth Hargreaves.
Burgess' Daughter.
Alice Greenhough.
Jno. Harrison's Wife and Daughter.
42 Women.

November 5th, 1721.

1721. December 10th. Robert Riley was removed into communion with us at Sparth; he was formerly a member with Mr. Gillibrand and Mr. Walkden at Hesketh Lane.

1721–22. January 14th. John Harrison and his wife, of Eaves, formerly in communion at Chipping, joined with us at Wymond-Houses. I wish they may prove as good members as several of their uncles (and mine) were and are. About the beginning of November last died Alice Haworth the Younger.

1722. May 6th. Died, Alice Haworth the Elder. June 5th.

[1] The actual number is 33.

Martha Pilling and Nathaniel Edleston's wife admitted at Sparth. James Holden departed suddenly in March last. He was as usual in health at night, and was found dead next morning in a lane short of his home. At our last meeting at his house he told us we were taking our leave, and should never see his face nor be at his house again; this he spoke with assurance. He also foretold the death of my wife when she was in a pretty good state of health.

1723 and 1724. The Lord made several breaches in us by death, and some additions. First, Jennet Duckworth, Widow. Second, Widow Walkden, who died aged about sixty years. Third, Richard Haworth, of Wymond-Houses, died; he joined with us in 1723. The fourth who died was his aged mother, who came to us also in 1723; she died that year, about Michaelmas. Fifth Richard Haworth's daughter, a pretty, witty child. Thus died three near relations in a few months. There were several remarkable warnings from the invisible world before the death of Richard Haworth and his child, as of knockings or workings as of a carpenter. Richard was called upon by his Christian name two or three times; there were also some disturbances at the higher door, then at the parlour door; the pantry doors opened and shut a great part of the night on which he died. The sixth who died was old Nicholas Edleston, about Candlemas; he was a witty, good man. The seventh who died was Widow Barton; she was a good Christian; died this Spring (1724). The eighth who died (July, 1723) was Alice Greenough. The ninth death was Bridget Towers.

1724. Mary Atkinson's sister joined with us. Mrs. Walton has communicated with us these last two years. Mr. William Nutter, of Scotland, also has communicated this year; and Thos. Foel's wife's mother has sat down with us these two or three years. Edmund Miller was joined with us in 1723.

Upon the whole (Mr. John Jolly records) I have reason to bless God that ever I knew my Uncle (Rev. Thomas Jolly) and was admitted into this Society, in which I have had many thousand mercies. May they accompany my salvation!

[The record ends with the following entries :—]

"The learned and faithful Pastor of this Congregation, Mr. John Jolly, died June 29th, 1725."

"Mr. Thomas Jolly, the present Pastor, succeeded him in the beginning of May, 1726. He was dismissed to us from the Church of Christ meeting in Broad Field, in Norfolk."

"The Reverend Mr. Thomas Jolly, once Pastor of the above-mentioned church, but late Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cockermouth, died June 8, 1764."

The following Notes on the Contents of the Register were made by Mr. Thomas Jolly's nephew and successor, Mr. John Jolly :—

"Agreed to take [late] Pastor's Papers and Manuscripts in as a Preface, which gives a full account of himself and People, from first coming to their leaving the Public Place, Altham [*i.e.*, the church]. The remainder are some Sermons, on "God's Covenant with his People in the Gospel Day;" "That all must judge wisely of Christ's Body and Blood;" "Of Communion with the Holy Spirit;" "Of ascribing greatness to God;" "Plenteous Redemption with the Lord;" "The Power of Christ's Spirit resting on His weak People;" "God magnifyes His Grace;" "Calamities stayed till His People sealed;" "The Mercies God bestows upon His People wonderful;" "God's spirit remains with His People;" "He that overcomes shall be a Pillar;" "Rest for the Troubled." I began at the year 1682, on September 24th, and I got this far the 25th, when I took all the considerable papers together and burnt the rest, so that the state of the Society is to be found in the Register. The Collection of Papers a vellum octavo book; this quarto; and my Diary octavo. I added then something of Mr. Thomas Jolly's Will, 1698, as follows :—

Mr. Thomas Jolly's Will.

"I, Thomas Jolly, of New Chappell, *alias* Wymond-houses, in the Parish of Pendleton, in the County of Lancaster, Minister of the Gospel,

being in perfect memory and waiting daily for my change, do on this 8th February, in the year of our Lord, 1698,[1] declare and ordain my last Will and Testament in manner and form following: First, I do in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereunto I am baptized (Matthew, 28 ch. 19 v.), and whereunto I am blessed (2 Cor., 8 ch. 14 v.), commending my spirit unto Him as my gracious God, my heavenly Father, and the Father of Spirits, through the only merits and mediation of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, by his Holy Spirit, who has begun His good work in me and will henceforth perfect the same, that I have His supporting, strengthening presence as I walk through the Valley of the shadow of Death (Psalm 23, 4 v.), and may follow by the way I never went before through this Jordan in the very swellings thereof (Joshua, 3 ch. 15-16 v.), as I pass into the Promised Land, that I may be with Christ and among the spirits of just men made perfect, the saints' rest (Rev., 14 ch. 23 v.); my spirit thus entering into peace, my body must rest in the grave, I walking in my uprightness (Isaiah, 57 ch. 2 v.); I do therefore commend my body to the earth, in the faith and hope of a blessed resurrection at the last day, of that seed there sown in the faith and hope of its reunion then with my spirit for ever. My mind also is that my body be decently buried at Altham, the first and last [place] of my public ministry, according to the discretion of my Executor (after-named) amongst the remains of my relatives, who lived and died in the Lord. If it may be done peaceably, I would have my interment without the Service Book and Ceremonies, according to my profession in my lifetime; yea, also, I make bold humbly to recommend the doctrine which I have, through the grace of God, had clearly evidenced and sensibly experienced, as well as publicly preached; which I have solemnly professed even to some suffering for it, and through the good hand of God upon me, hath been in some measure (though in much infirmity and with many failings on my part) practised by me;—I say, I recommend this my doctrine even to the last, with good assurance of its being found according to the Word of God, unto all those who have already received it, and to those who shall receive it hereafter as the saving truth and way of the Gospel. Lastly, I commend all my charge to the Chief Shepherd of the Flock, and Father of

[1] 1698–9, February. "Pastor badly." See date, *ante.*

the whole Family not only in Heaven but on earth, and withal I commend them to the word of His grace, which is able to build them up, and to give them an inheritance among them that are sanctified. As to my worldly estate, which the Lord hath graciously given and wonderfully preserved to me, my mind and will is that it be disposed of as followeth:—*Imprimis*, it is my mind and will that my debts (if there be any) be discharged, as [also] my funeral expenses, &c. *Item*, I give, &c. [Here followed the bequests and directions for the disposal of testator's estate, not entered by his nephew in the Church Register.] Reserving the Chappell at Wymond-houses for the use of my People while they have occasion to meet in it for the worship of God, and provided the preaching Minister be a Protestant Dissenter and a consenter to the Heads of Agreement amongst the said Protestant Dissenters, *Anno Domini* 1691. Concerning my Library, it is my will that my Nephew, John Jolly, have the use of that part of it my Executor leaves at Wymond-houses, so long as he stays at the said New Chappell, until my said Grandson comes to age. [The transcriber adds:—"The particulars of the legacys I omit here, and refer to the copy in an octavo book, bound with a Catalogue of the books in the Library."] [1]

At the end of the Register appeared this category of the volumes of books included in the portion of Mr. Thomas Jolly's Library left at Wymond-houses:—"Books left at Wymond-houses, but since removed to London; some sold, &c.:—"Folios, 85 volumes; quartos, 56 volumes; octavos, 104 volumes; twelves, 78 volumes." The total of all sizes is 323 volumes.

[1] This Will was probably never executed; it certainly was not proved.

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CHARLES SIMMS & CO., PRINTERS, 53, KING STREET, MANCHESTER.

The Fifty-first Report

(12th of the NEW SERIES)

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE CHETHAM SOCIETY,

Read at the Annual Meeting, held by permission of the Feoffees, in the Audit Room of Chetham's Hospital, Manchester, on Friday, the 6th of July, 1894, by adjournment from the 1st of March.

DURING the past year—the fifty-first of the CHETHAM SOCIETY'S existence—three volumes have been issued to the members—the two first parts of "The Poems of John Byrom," edited by DR. WARD, and the second part of the "Chartulary of the Priory of Lancaster," edited by Mr. W. O. ROPER. (These three volumes form the second for 1892–3 and the two for 1893–4.)

A complete edition of the Poems of John Byrom, giving an accurate text, with adequate introductions and notes, was one of the works contemplated on the foundation of the Society, and was an undertaking which Manchester certainly owed to the memory of the single eminent man of letters before the commencement of the present century, whose name has been inseparably connected with that of his native city, and whose verses, if they never rise to poetry of the highest order, are characterised by good taste and good sense, accompanied by considerable power of versification—sometimes, indeed, as DR. WARD remarks, by "a fatal facility" of versification. But Byrom is not only a local worthy. There is probably none among the minor poets of the

seventeenth century whose epigrams are so frequently quoted, or who has left a Christmas Hymn which is still so popular. In the two volumes which have been already issued, Dr. Ward has given for the first time a scholarly and critical edition of the secular poems, with a revised and corrected text, and introductions and notes, clearing up and explaining the numerous local and often obscure allusions which make them in the old editions often so difficult, sometimes impossible, to understand. It is hoped that two more volumes, completing the work, and including extracts from the unpublished Commonplace Book of Byrom — some of them of much interest — will be ready during the present year.

The second volume of the Chartulary of Lancaster is not of less importance than the first. It throws a flood of light on persons and places in North Lancashire during the thirteeeth century, and will be found to contain more varied matter of value, especially to Lancashire historians and genealogists, than either the Chartulary of Whalley or that of Furness. The utility of the volume, like that of its predecessor, is much enhanced by the translation which Mr. Roper has added. A third volume of "Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster" may shortly be expected.

The Council are glad to state that Canon Atkinson has undertaken to edit the late Sir Stephen Glynne's "Notes on the Churches of Cheshire." The work proceeds on the same lines as the "Notes on the Churches of Lancashire," and the information it contains with respect to the church buildings, monuments, &c., in Sir Stephen's time and at the present date is certainly as interesting as that furnished in the former volume. The printing of it is completed, and it will be very shortly in the hands of the members. It forms the first volume for 1894–5.

The manuscript of Colonel Fishwick's edition of the "Note Book of Thomas Jolly," to which reference was made last year, is now in the printer's hands.

The Council much regret that Mr. Joseph Hall has found that his engagements will not admit of his editing the "Visitationes exemptæ jurisdictionis Abbatis et Conventus Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de Whalley." The Council is most anxious to find some other competent and willing editor, but has not yet succeeded in doing so. The work is one of the highest interest, and of general as well as local importance, not less so

indeed than the Visitations of several other Abbeys which have recently been published.

During the past year the Society has lost by death seven members, including one of the original founders of the Society — Mr. James Frederick Beever — who for many years took much interest in the work of the Society, and was a regular attendant at its meetings.

Although a considerable number of new members have been elected, bringing up the list to 256 names, this is much less than ought to be the case, and the income of the Society is altogether inadequate to its needs. Unless the number of members is increased to 350 it will be impossible for the Council to do more than issue two volumes annually. Nor will it be possible to allow of payment being made for transcripts, and the efficiency of the Society will be thus greatly diminished.

The following further works are in progress :—

The Minutes of the Bury and Bolton Presbyterian Classes. By W. A. Shaw, M.A.

The Life of Humphrey Chetham. By C. W. Sutton, Esq.

The Lancashire Recusants of 1716: being a True List of the names of those convicted as Popish Recusants at the several Quarter Sessions within the County Palatine of Lancaster. By Joseph Gillow, Esq.

Lancashire and Cheshire Wills. Third Collection. By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.

History of the Chapelry of Newton. By Rev. Ernest F. Letts, M.A.

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Dr. *The Treasurer in Account with the Chetham Society, for the year ending February 28th, 1894.* **Cr.**

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